

**CEYLON
AND PORTUGAL
PART I**

சென்னை மெய்யாட்சிமல சுவாமிநாதர்
ஸ்ரீமது சிவசுந்தரம் பிள்ளை
கதவருணமுதலியுடைய கையெழுத்து

Signature of the King of Ceylon

PIERIS - FITZLER

CEYLON
AND PORTUGAL

PART I

KINGS AND CHRISTIANS

1539—1552

FROM THE ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS AT LISBON

BY

P. E. PIERIS AND M. A. H. FITZLER



VERLAG DER ASIA MAJOR

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OS AUTORES



Map of Ceylon by Cypriano Sanches
(From Mercator's Atlas 1606, British Museum).

PREFACE

The joint Authors offer this volume to the public as the first of a series dealing with Ceylon for the period 1505—1658, based mainly, though not exclusively, on manuscripts in the various collections which exist in Portugal. The present translation is made from the original documents at the *Arquivo da Torre do Tombo* at Lisbon, and a few, chiefly copies, at the *Biblioteca Nacional* of that city. Mr. P. E. Pieris is responsible for the Introduction and Fräulein M. A. H. Fitzler for the Studies which are appended as Notes, while the translation is their joint work.

Mr. Pieris desires to record his personal feeling of gratitude to the Very Reverend Father Georg Schurhammer S. J. who with singular consideration furnished him with information about most of these documents on learning of his intention to search for original historical material at Lisbon. It was intended to issue a critical edition of the text, but this scheme was abandoned in view of Dr. Schurhammer's finally deciding to undertake that task himself. The original text, however, will be published in all subsequent parts of this series.

The joint Authors have received much help and kindness from the learned Directors and officials of the *Torre do Tombo*, the *Academia das Sciencias*, the *Bibliotecas Nacional, da Ajuda* and *de Evora*, and to all of them they tender their grateful thanks.

The device on the cover is from King Bhuwanaika Bahu's seal at the Torre do Tombo.

Lisbon, 2nd Febr. 1927.

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INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

The arrival of the first Portuguese⁽¹⁾ ships in Ceylon in 1505 was followed in 1518 by the construction of a small fort at Kolon Tota, the Colombo of today, and an arrangement by which the King, whose capital of Jayawardhana Kottai, six miles from the port, was always described as Cotta by these new comers, secured an assurance of protection from all enemies in return for an annual payment or *pareas* in cinnamon, elephants, and precious stones.⁽²⁾

Six years later this fort was abandoned, but a Factory was maintained under the protection of the King. In 1521 (D 24, 55) a revolution which ended in the murder of the King brought his eldest son by a polyandrous marriage to the throne of Ceylon under the name of Bhuwanaika Bahu, while two subordinate kingdoms were created for the latter's two brothers, of whom Mayadunna established himself at Sitawaka, thirty miles inland from Cotta. Dissensions, followed by open war, soon broke out among them.⁽³⁾ Bhuwanaika Bahu called on the Portuguese to help him in terms of their agreement, and though the demand came inconveniently, in view of the other enemies who

(1) See Sumario de todas as Cartas que vierão do India etc.: Carta do Viso Rey de vinte sete dias de Dezembro mil quinhentos e seis. Gaveta 20. Maço 4. Doc. 15. Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa.

(2) See letter of Dom João de Lima to the King of Portugal. Cochim, 22nd Decr. 1518. Corpo Chronologico Parte 1. Maço 23. Doc. 117; Arch. da Torre do Tombo. Pedro de Bastroni Carco to the King, Cochim, 10 Nov. 1518; Gaveta 15. Maço 12. Doc. 13.

(3) See letter of Affonço Mexia to the King, Cochim. 30 Decr. 1528, C. C. i. 41. 144.

threatened the existence of their power in the East, yet they could not but regard with satisfaction a war which was bound to weaken all resistance to themselves in the Island they coveted. The years of guerilla warfare which ensued saw not only a steady reduction in the extent of Bhuwanaika Bahu's territory, but also a rapid growth in the importance of the position of the Factor, as representing the power whose favour was likely to decide the issue. The Samorin of Calicut sent his hardy sea-faring subjects, whom the Portuguese hated as much as they feared, to support Mayadunna, and in 1539 a despairing message reached the Viceroy Dom Garcia de Noronha(1) from the Sinhalese king, that all was lost except his Capital itself. Migell Ferreira, who had served under Affonso de Albuquerque and shared in many of the latter's great qualities, hurried to the rescue with three hundred and fifty espingardeiros collected at his own expence, for the treasury at Goa was empty. A fleet from Calicut was trapped in the backwaters near Negumbo though the men succeeded in getting away, and then Ferreira accompanied by the King, advanced along the southern bank of the Kelani River towards Sitawaka.

Three of Mayadunna's outposts were driven back, whereupon after a little sharp fighting, he sent to discuss terms of peace. Ferreira, who took charge of the negotiations on the King's behalf, insisted on the surrender of the Calicut leaders, as an essential condition; all Mayadunna's protests were in vain, and at last he sent in eleven of their heads, under circumstances which remain obscure. He further surrendered all the territory which he had occupied and paid a heavy indemnity to cover the expenses of the war, and on these terms peace was concluded between the two brothers. (D 1)

(1) Viceroy, 1538—1540.

Ferreira's achievements immensely strengthened the position of the Portuguese, and Bhuwanaika Bahu openly held himself out as the Vassal of Dom João the Third. Only one child by his chief Queen, a daughter with the beautiful name of Samudra Devi, the Ocean Queen, was alive, and she had recently borne her first son to her husband, Trinela Pandar as the Portuguese wrote his name. The new Viceroy, Dom Estevão da Gama(1), recommended that this child should be recognised as the King's heir and his claim upheld with Portuguese arms, in order to exclude Mayadunna from his brother's throne (D 2). The suggestion was accepted; and the king sent his Minister, Sri Radaraksa Pandita, a Brahmin, with an effigy of the infant Prince to Lisboa, where it was solemnly crowned by Dom João III, whose Alvara acknowledging the claim of the child, Dharma Pala(2), and directing his representatives in India effectively to maintain it, bears date the twelfth of March 1543 (D 3). At the same time a series of Regulations were issued for the control of the Portuguese residing in Ceylon and to check the unreasonable claims which were being advanced by converts to Christianity(3). Dom João's propagandist zeal was well known and the King specially requested him to send more missionaries to his country; accordingly six Franciscans with the Frey João de Villa de Conde as their Guardiã, accompanied the ambassador on his return home. They were received with much kindness by the King who provided for their needs and helped them in their work; churches were soon built at Cotta itself and in the chief sea ports (D 61). The Guardiã however was lacking in patience

(1) Viceroy, 1540—1542.

(2) The name means, Protector of the Doctrine of the Buddha.

(3) Chancellaria de Dom João III, Liv. 6. ff. 43—45 v, and published by Sousa Viterbo in *O Tesouro do Rei de Ceylão*, Lisboa, 1904.

and tact and was disappointed because the King would not immediately accept Christianity as he had fondly hoped he would do, and in a few months he returned to India in chagrin (D 12).

The existence at the Palace of a strong Portuguese Guard under their Guarda Mor, and the facility with which Portuguese visitors obtained admission there, soon gave rise to serious trouble. The King had three sons by one of his junior Queens, and a certain Andre de Sousa and two Franciscan companions of his obtained such an influence over them that arrangements were made to smuggle the eldest son across to India and baptise him there, when his sudden death interrupted their plans (D 15). About September 1644, however, the second son accompanied by de Sousa made his way across; he was soon joined by the third, and the two young men were baptised under the names of Dom João and Dom Luis respectively. At this time an application came from some people of Jafana Patam, the sandy promontory occupied by a Tamil population which lies to the North of Ceylon; this at one time formed a feudatory State under the Sinhalese Kings till a Brahmin family succeeded in wresting it, to be driven away in turn by a warlike and unscrupulous dependant, who a few months previously put seven hundred Christians to death in the Island of Manar. The application which was now received was that the Sinhalese Princes should be placed in power there, and this was sanctioned by the Governor, (1) Martin Affonço de Sousa (D 14—18), when the succession of Dom João de Castro(2) to that office stopped further action for the time.

Still another feudatory State has now to be considered, namely, the Kanda Uda Rata, the Land above the

(1) Governor 1542—1545.

(2) Governor 1545—1548.

Mountain, the central plateau of Ceylon, which, as well as its Capital Senkada Gala, was always known among the Portuguese as Cande. Its ruler, Vikrama Bahu, was married to a sister of Bhuwanaika Bahu's junior Queen who has already been mentioned, and had shaken off the slight tokens of vassalage which bound him to his Suzerain; the latter was anxious to reduce him once again to submission (D 4) and Mayadunna, who was expressing his desire for the friendship of the Portuguese, declared war on him in alliance with his brother (D 10).

Probably the King's action in sending his Mission to Lisboa induced Vikrama Bahu, under the advice of a Portuguese soldier named Nuno Alvarez Pereira, to apply in August 1542 to the Governor Martin Affonso de Sousa for the opening of a Factory at Tricona Malai (D 8, 10). In response to this Migell Ferreira came in March 1543 with Amaro Mendes, who had been selected to be Factor, but the men he brought with him were so few that nothing further could be done, and he returned to India. Repeated messages, accompanied by rich presents for the Governor, followed, but lack of funds delayed the preparation of another expedition, and the men whom Vikrama Bahu sent with money for the purpose in November 1544, were robbed in Jafana Patam.

The following April Nuno Alvares Pereira wrote to say that Vikrama Bahu was willing to become a Christian, and he soon amplified this into a proposal for the conversion of all Vikrama Bahu's subjects, the payment of *paraes*, and the maintenance of a factory and a Portuguese guard, by a letter dated the 13th of October 1545, which bore Vikrama Bahu's signature as well as his own (D 5, 8, 10). He further advised the immediate dispatch of thirty or forty Portuguese to strengthen his master's hands, and suggested the desirability of the Governor visiting

Ceylon in person. Probably this was the result of the additional pressure which was being brought to bear by Mayadunna in view of the discovery of Vikrama Bahu's negotiations with the Portuguese (D 13).

In November Duarte Barbudo, whom the Governor had sent two months before on an embassy to the King in the company of the Guardiã, returned with his report to Goa. The Portuguese disapproved of the increasing friendliness between the two brothers as a possible menace to themselves. They believed that the new policy was to occupy the Kanda Uda Rata as an impregnable stronghold from which they could be safely defied, and also to put an end to all further proselytism as well as the trade in cinnamon (D 8, 19, 22). Frey João's disappointment at his failure to convert the King himself was bitter, but the King's attitude never wavered, and the reply he sent to the suggestion made through Barbudo, was by its candour and transparent honesty, as characteristic as it was honourable. "Never", he wrote, "did such a thought enter my mind, and a Christian I cannot be. No one, alike great as small, calls anyone 'father' save his own, and I am unable to believe in another God, but only in my own. I do not have more than one single word and one single purpose" (D 12). He warmly protested against the insinuation that he was trying to prevent conversion: anyone accepting the new religion through conviction in its superiority, had his full sympathy; but he could not permit conversion to be used as a defence for a felon, or in order to defraud his treasury (D 12). His past conduct, he further pointed out, was the best answer to the aspersions which were being thrown on his loyalty. "For five and twenty years I have always laboured and am labouring for the friendship of the King my Senhor, and to do that which is for his service, whole-heartedly, as I shall do so long as I live" (D 24).

INTRODUCTION

Andre de Sousa's intrigues at Goa, which had for their ultimate object the supersession of the King by Dom João, with himself as the actual ruler, were known in Ceylon, and resulted in a violent attack, marked by a great deal of blood-shed, on the Kanda Uda Rata. Frey Antonio, who had accompanied Duarte Barbudo with Vikrama Bahu's letters and had much knowledge of the country, successfully pressed his claims to assistance, (D 6, 7, 8, 19) and the Governor decided to go personally in September 1546 in order to help Vikrama Bahu as well as to establish the Princes in Jafana Patam, while it was arranged that de Sousa should start in January with fifty men as a temporary relief (D 22).

Dom João was actually sworn as King of Jafana Patam (D 40) when the sudden death of himself and his brother led to a change of plans and the representative of the Brahmin dynasty who was in India was selected to fill the place, on condition of his accepting Christianity (D 26). Andre de Sousa however went on with his preparations and on the 25th of April reached Vikrama Bahu's capital with a handful of Portuguese bravos and a few Sinhalese from the coast, along with Frey Antonio (D 27). Nuno Alvares Pereira declared that the Chief had already been secretly baptised by an Italian priest, whom the Guardião had sent up from Cotta (D 28); but, reported Frey Antonio, "as he became a Christian by night so he remains in the darkness of night; he does not know to make the sign of the Cross nor is he willing that any member of his household should be made a Christian" (D 29).

The Portuguese were too late to be of any practical assistance, for already in February peace had been secured by paying a large sum to Mayadunna, and the question of giving Vikrama Bahu's only daughter in marriage to him, was being discussed (D 29, 40). The expedition was in every way a failure; there were unseemly squabbles

between Frey Antonio and de Sousa, while it soon became clear that all the Portuguese wanted was money (D 29, 40). "The Portuguese who were with us", reported Frey Antonio, "illustrated well to the king of Candea every aspect of the lust of money" (D 38). In a few weeks the men had got quite out of hand; "send a man to take charge of these Portuguese, for I cannot venture on that any more; they are going about here quite out of control and utterly reckless. The greatest favour which I can obtain is permission to leave this country" wrote de Sousa in despair to the Governor (D 30).

The anxieties of the siege of Diu engrossed the Governor's attention and it was out of the question for him to go to Ceylon in person (D 34, 35, 40). Andre de Sousa and his men returned home after doing all the harm they could to the good name of their countrymen, while Frey Antonio was commissioned by Vikrama Bahu to secure three hundred Portuguese who could be relied upon to give him that help against Mayadunna which was his main desire (D 38).

With the relief of Diu the importunities of Vikrama Bahu and of the Frades who supported his cause, were renewed (D 42, 43, 46) and as the result in April 1547 Antonio Moniz Barreto left India with a hundred soldados, and was eagerly welcomed at Candea. He found however that Vikrama Bahu's daughter, the disposal of whose hand the Portuguese expected to be left to the Governor, had just before been sent to Cotta to be the bride of the youthful Dharma Pala. A greater disappointment was the discovery that Vikrama Bahu still maintained the attitude which he had assumed with Andre de Sousa: he disclaimed responsibility for the fantastic proposals of Nuno Alvarez Pereira, conveyed in a language which he did not know: he had been promised certain territorial advantages as the price of conversion, and by that contract he would stand (D 38).

Twenty days were spent in negotiations which proved futile, and then Barreto, uneasy at the reports which were being brought to him that the Sinhalese forces were collecting, set fire to his baggage, abandoned some artillery which he had brought with him, and instead of returning to Batticalo, where his vessels were waiting, struck out westwards for Cotta. He was allowed to leave the country unhindered, and on reaching Mayadunna's territory where hostility was expected, was agreeably surprised by a friendly welcome and a generous hospitality. This was in sharp contrast to what he found on the King's land, where there was no official to receive them, while the villagers ran away in terror and it was not possible to buy food.

The Portuguese reached Colombo in a very bad temper, and weary of the unaccustomed land march under arms. For twenty days Bhuwanaika Bahu took no notice of them, while numerous messages and presents from Mayadunna bore evidence to his anxiety for a friendly understanding. The King realised that he was being regarded with disfavour, and sent for Barreto to learn what his grievance was. The latter charged him with responsibility for the failure of the negotiations with Vikrama Bahu, and the neglect to pay due attention to the Portuguese, and with splendid effrontery declared that he placed under seizure the royal bride and all that came in her train, to cover the cost of his expedition. When he left Ceylon towards the end of the year, Mayadunna's ambassador to the Governor accompanied him with a proposal for an offensive alliance against Vikrama Bahu (D 45, 47, 48, 49).

The relations between the royal brothers had become greatly strained and the missionary influence was turning in favour of Mayadunna (D 48, 50). Garcia de Saa who succeeded as Governor on the death of Dom João de Castro in June 1548, himself died the following

year, and the administration was taken charge of by Jorge Cabral. To him the king sent the Pandita and secured a force of six hundred Portuguese under the command of Dom Jorge de Castro, to get back the districts belonging to himself which up till that time Mayadunna had failed to surrender; a substantial amount in money, cinnamon and elephants was paid for this assistance.

Mayadunna made a slight show of resistance and then allowed the Portuguese to occupy Sitawaka from where they commenced some curious negotiations with him, till the King in alarm promised them a further sum to continue the pursuit. This was agreed to when Frey Antonio denounced the arrangement, threatened with excommunication all who should take part in the proposed expedition, and insisted that they should proceed to the Kanda Uda Rata instead. Apparently Dom Jorge had secret instructions on the point, and in spite of the remonstrances received from Vikrama Bahu, and the expostulations of the King, he expressed his determination to go there, at the same time giving to the King, from whom he borrowed some men and elephants, a written acknowledgment of the objections which the latter had raised (D 58).

The result was a terrible disaster: Dom Jorge was allowed to approach within a league of Vikrama Bahu's Capital when he was attacked in such fashion that only a scanty handful were able to escape with their lives. The prestige of the Portuguese was seriously damaged, till an "expedition to Cande" became a common jibe in Sinhalese mouths (D 57). Mayadunna alone secured some little reputation by his officious attentions to the distressed refugees.

The agitation caused by these events had not subsided when on the 17th of October 1550 the new Viceroy of India, Dom Affonso de Noronha, son of the Marquis

of Villa Real, whose vessel had been driven out of its course on its way to Goa, reached Ceylon. The relations between the King and the Portuguese residents were very tense and the Viceroy's own kinsman, Dom Diogo de Noronha, whose behaviour at the hospitable Palace had been contemptuously described by Sri Radaraksa as being "so different from what gentlemen do", and who had no respect for the sanctity of his parole, was available to convey all the calumnies to Dom Affonço (D 58). The clergy had not forgiven the King's refusal to accept Christianity, and now a great complaint was being raised against him because some villagers had destroyed a building which a Friar had insinuated within the precincts of about the most sacred Hindu shrine in the country. Frey Antonio had the courage to suggest that the responsibility for Dom Jorge's disaster should also be laid on him; and Dom Affonço, while invoking his God and insisting on his unalterable resolution to do justice, informed Bhuwanaika Bahu that a loan of a hundred thousand pardaos might reduce the gravity of the charges made against him: the force at the Viceroy's disposal was not large enough to render it safe to take the measures he would have preferred. The King, however, had already made so many loans, which still remained unsatisfied, and had spent so much on Dom Jorge's expedition, that he had not the means to comply with the Viceroy's suggestion (D 57).

An interview with the King was followed by another with Mayadunna's son, who came on board the Viceroy's ship with many presents and was regally entertained. Mayadunna was formally recognised as the Vassal of Portugal and Letters of Assurance issued to him to that effect, while the two brothers were requested to send their representatives to India with all the material needed to enable the Viceroy to give a decision on the dispute between them (D 57). He then started for India, where

his presence was urgently needed, leaving behind a strong impression of his prejudice against Bhuwanaika Bahu. "I cannot omit to suggest" wrote the Pandita to the Queen of Portugal in a despatch which bears the impress of the Brahmin's cultured intellect, "Gentile and Bramene though I be, that changes so extraordinary and so unjust as the good being adjudged evil and the evil good, are manifest signs of the end of the world. What can be more monstrous than to hold Madune as the good man . . . and to lay the blame on the King my Master" (D 58). The Viceroy had suggested that it was the finger of God which led him to Ceylon at such a critical time (D 57); the Brahmin admitted the incident was without precedent: "and methinks that with this novelty" he added, "other much greater ones are coming to my Master" (D 58).

Ambassadors followed the Viceroy and both parties laid their case before him, but it did not suit his policy that these differences should be settled. His visit had left him with strong views regarding the importance of Ceylon from its position and great natural resources, and he advocated the speedy construction of a fort in Colombo where the Portuguese settlers could be collected, and from which the Sinhalese Kings could be kept in a position of subordination. The continuance of internal dissensions was just what he desired, and accordingly he ordered a further inquiry which would be held in the Island by a Commissioner whom he proposed to send there.

The Ambassadors returned home disappointed and Mayadunna at once resumed hostilities. The King dispatched Trinela Pandar to the frontier to check his advance, and himself went to Kelaniya accompanied by his Portuguese guard. One day as he appeared at a window to watch them at their meal, an espingarda was fired from their midst and he fell mortally wounded. The Alcaide Mor who was in the company did not trouble

to hold any inquiry but hurriedly removed the dead body to the Capital, where the youthful Dharma Palā was proclaimed King.

Historians of the period, in their attempts to explain away this foul murder, have not always been complimentary to the intelligence of their readers. The Viceroy, who with suspicious prescience had before leaving Ceylon, given secret instructions for the seizure of the Royal treasure in case of the King's death, suggested that the assassin had been bribed by Mayadunna; the value of that red herring can be judged by a study of the lengthy despatch in which he insulted his God and his King by a recital of the atrocities he committed in a defenceless country and on a helpless boy (D 59).

"I do not enlarge on the expedition to Ceilão and the incidents thereof", wrote Dom João III's Vedor who had taken part in it, "but methinks that as the scheme was concerned with treasure and Christianity, matters so foreign one to the other, our Lord did not wish that it should be done" (D 62).

The Mesteres of Goa were not so reticent. "In India" they declared "there is no justice either in the Viceroy or in those who have to administer it . . . All the anxiety is to collect money by every possible manner and means. Senhor, we remind you of the death of the King of Seyllon and of the barbarities which were committed over his treasure. Such horrors were done that the good name of the Portuguese was destroyed, and there is not one Moor who trusts a Portuguese . . . We beg of you to tear up this letter and not to let it be seen by anyone save your Highness, because they will kill us" (D 63).

CHAPTER II

"The people are of a nature which with a little trouble will be obedient" said Dom Affonço de Noronha of the Sinhalese (D 57), and the opinion he expressed was correct. With the atmosphere of gentleness and peace which even now marks their village life, they formed but a shadowy background. The knowledge of the atrocities of which the soldados could be capable would cause the villagers to abandon their homes at their approach (D 29, 45), but when the need arose the same men would fight like fanatical Turks (D 59). In politics they took no interest; the Sword of State belonged to the King, and so long as Custom, which regulated the relations between him and his subjects, was not in danger, a struggle for the Sword concerned them but little. They regarded Christianity with that kindly respect which they paid to all endeavour for the moral uplift of mankind, and yet the only bond which held them together was the ancient religion on which their social fabric was based. To destroy their religion was to destroy the race, and they instinctively resented any such attempt. They were easily influenced by the example of their leaders (D 8), but when it was rumoured that Vikrama Bahu was about to establish a new State religion, rioting followed (D 40) and the officer in charge of Tricona Malai forcibly prevented the Portuguese who were hastening to the support of that Ruler, from landing (D 31); incidentally he gave a Franciscan an opportunity of displaying his martial prowess by killing three Sinhalese. The proposed conversion of Dharma Pala and the desecration of the Maligawa, where the Tooth Relic, which belonged to the whole Race, was preserved, were needed to evoke an expression of united feeling before which even Dom Affonço had to give way (D 59).

The transfer of power from the hands of the King might have been delayed, if not prevented, but for the defects of the Sinhalese character. Jealousy and self seeking are of all climates and times and have not prevented the growth of powerful communities; but they are convenient weapons in the hands of the unscrupulous permanently to keep in subjection a small and isolated race, naturally inclined to deference towards the man in power. The Portuguese deliberately adopted that policy; by fomenting domestic quarrels they wrecked the country; and the same policy will always be found effective till the Sinhalese learn the meaning of the word Unity. "As it seemed more in the interest of your Highness that the Island should not belong to one alone, but rather to several, former Governors did not interfere in this matter, and left them to go on with their quarrels" admitted Dom Affonço (D 59).

Many stones can be thrown at the Portuguese for what they did in Ceylon, but even to day fear or passion can move other races to actions which fill honourable men with loathing. It is idle to speculate whether others under the same circumstances would have emerged with a cleaner record. The Portuguese effected marvels: but one cannot feel much in common with the men who reveal themselves in these Documents.

Perhaps the one attractive figure is that of the veteran Migell Ferreira. His consuming passion was his devotion to his King; at any time and at the shortest notice, life and limb and treasure were at his master's service; if life ceased before the need was answered, his dead body in its coffin would accompany the fleet to encourage the men against the terrible Rumes (D 34); if the Fazenda could not replace what he had spent, the Hospital would always give him a crust to eat, for he had little of his own remaining (D 1). Everyone trusted him: the Brahmin Prince, whom a Governor had robbed of his pearls and

a Factor of his diamond, had no fear about committing himself and his fortunes to his hands (D 26). Goncalo Pacheco de Sousa, with his ship wrecked and abandoned, found help from him alone among his countrymen: the others were too busily occupied with their own profits to attend to him (D 33). Not only so; he wrote to the Governor to clear the young man's name from the unjust reports which were being spread against him (D 34). His sense of fair play revolted against the sharp practise of the Captain of Malacca which robbed a poor woman of the profit she was entitled to expect from her late husband's investments, for the widows of faithful officers should not be left to depend on charity; and rather than see orphan girls exposed to temptation, he would provide them dowries with which to secure husbands, out of his own limited soldo (D 26). The lawlessness of his countrymen was a source of grief and disappointment; Chormandel was in such a state that he would not care to be responsible for its administration, while the condition of things among them in Ceylon evoked an indignant protest. "If you do not provide Ceilão with justice" he wrote to his King, "to the best of my judgment it will last but a very short time; and this I say to your Highness because from the letters and complaints of the King you will see how great is the truth I speak to your Highness in everything" (D 1).

His clear, straight-forward handwriting was perhaps indicative of his character. His words were few, but his deeds could be as terrible as Alboquerque's, for above everything respect for the arms of Portugal had to be enforced. Berinjam, which objected to his watering his ships there, was burnt to the ground; a similar punishment awaited the Moorish settlement at Negumbo which sheltered the Samorin's fleet; while no amount of money could move him from his grim demand for the surrender of the latter's Captains who were in Mayadunna's camp.

All officers had to represent to the King their claims for recognition, and it was not always that this was done with the same modesty as he displayed; he thought so himself, and did not hesitate to say it: "Your Highness should not hold me of small worth because the reward I ask is so small, as I know well that I am worth much" (D 1). He did not get what he wanted, the Factory of Colombo; he received a gift of Manar and Mantota, to which his Master had no right (D 23).

Duarte Teixeira, with forty years and more of public service, was finishing his career in Ceylon—for his sins, as he said; and he was depressed at what he saw around him. Selfishness, licentiousness, and greed of money characterised his countrymen. "I have no assistance" he complained "for those who come here and should help me, are very busy with their own profits, and give little to Teixeira, who has no bread." Besides, the attitude of the Sinhalese Court was changing notably, whether as the consequence of the intrusion of the Friars in the King's domestic affairs, or of the shameless requisitions for money made by Portuguese officers, or of the awakening consciousness that their independence was in jeopardy. He had faith in the King; "I believe he is not playing false with his words . . . I think if some one comes here or stays here, he will spur on the King" (D 8). The Portuguese themselves held the writer in much respect (D 5) as one of the chief members of their community; "an honoured individual who lives here", is how Frey João described him (D 6).

He was one of the few Factors whose term of office had not been a discredit (D 12); indeed so great was the King's esteem for him that he came to be regarded as his adviser, and finally secured the high compliment of the dislike of the other settlers: "Duarte Teixeira and Mestre Luiz" they complained in 1547 "are his chief

advisers, and they are more loyal to him than to their own natural King and Lord" (D 50).

The King's Portuguese Secretary, Antonio d'Afonço Sequeira, enjoyed his intimate confidence and was accordingly so hated by the Guarda Mors that an attempt was made to ship him out of the country, and appeals for his protection had to be addressed to Goa and to Lisbon (D 36, 51); while Francisco d'Ayora, the Captain of the cinnamon ship, was so trusted that he was chosen to be the King's Envoy Extraordinary at Goa (D 36, 37). Antonio Moniz Baretto, though domineering and perhaps unlovable, was a brave soldier and an honest man; and, if what Dom Affonço has recorded is true (D 59), the King after thirty years' experience of his Portuguese Guard, could declare that he would rather die than distrust their loyalty. Few names remain to be added to this list.

The Portuguese character, when exposed to a tropical sun; suffered in the same way as that of any other European race, and Migell Ferreira forms a striking contrast to some of the men whose actions disgraced the names in the Sala das Brazões at Cintra; nevertheless as early as 1519 it was possible for the Fidalgos to state openly that they came to India not to win honour, because honour was born with them, but to make money (Gavetas, 20. 6. 51).

The effects of this craving for money are well shown by the incidents of Andre de Sousa's expedition, regarding which there is information from many points of view, but all united in their expressions of condemnation. "They are ill satisfied, for they are not anxious for honour or the faith of God or your Highness' service, but money" reported Frey Symão (D 40). Vikrama Bahu was scandalised at the behaviour of the men; (D 28, 29) and Portuguese influence received a great set back, for the evil example of these first visitors could not be soon forgotten (D 38,

40, 46); while de Sousa invoked God and protested "you know it was not avarice which brought me here" (D 30).

What is more distressing than the conduct of these mercenaries is to note how money affected the sense of honour of men in positions of responsibility. Dom Jorge de Castro's dealings with Mayadunna whom he had been hired to fight, and his tactics in his money transactions with the King; Dom Affonço's curious interpretation of contracts and the facility with which he could turn on Mayadunna when there was money in his doing so; Antonio Moniz's readiness to combine with Mayadunna to plunder Vikrama Bahu, whom he had come to assist; all these were not undeserving of the mordant sarcasm of the Pandita (D 58).

"Everything has been thrown into confusion and disorder: that is not through your Highness' fault, but of those who are here; because, as they came for no other purpose but to look for money, they will give their own souls and the whole of Ceilão to the devil for one toston." This was the frank admission of Frey Diogo Bermudes (D 39).

"What moved me to go to Ceylão" wrote Dom Affonço de Noronha with similar frankness, "was the talk that there was about there being treasure"; he was anxious to secure that treasure "to relieve the great needs of India: as they were so great and of such a nature, it would seem that this was come from God." Therefore he went, and with church dignitaries by his side, seized the wealth of the Maligawa (D 59) and also removed, as conscientiously recorded by Simão Botelho (1), the golden spittoons of the youthful King. "The virtuous and godfearing man that he is", piously ejaculated the Custodio Frey Joanino, who had been invited to be present on the occasion (D 61).

(1) Corpo Chron. 1. 91. 40. (Sousa Viterbo. O Thesouro.)

The treatment which the King experienced at the hands of Portuguese officials was outrageous. Pero Vaz Travassos, the Factor, insulted him so grossly in public that tears of mortification were seen trickling down his beard (D 1). Gaspar de Azavedo, another Factor, was similar in his behaviour: nothing would he do without special payment; his attitude was characterised by surly disrespect, and complaints addressed to the Governor were of no avail (D 51). João Fernandez de Vasconcellos, by his apparent integrity, earned the praise of the King who declared that "he re-established the good name of the Portuguese, which was lost" (D 51). But when he found the King less gullible than he expected, he quarrelled with him and openly offered to assist Mayadunna. "If on any day they do what I want, it is when I do them a favour; as soon as two months pass without their receiving such from me, they immediately return to their evil practises" (D 55). "You should be amazed that I have not burst with rage and am not now wandering in the forests" (D 24), wrote the King bitterly. The Factors sent their agents to the distant sea ports to carry on their private trade, without any authority from the King (D 37). These men were under no sort of control and behaved as if they were responsible to no one; they ill-treated the inhabitants till they frequently abandoned their lands and fled. Others tried to obtain behind the King's back Alvaras from the Governor, which would authorise their stay where they liked. "These are the men who ruin my country and make themselves Kings therein", complained Bhuwanaika Bahu (D 24). The climax was reached when at Galle a bully stabbed to death Tենnakon, the King's relative and Governor, while interfering to protect his wife from insult, and no inquiry was held by the Factor (D 52). "The deeds they do to me are such that I am ashamed to recount them to your Highness."

The Guarda Mors were assuming powers of arrest which did not belong to them, and interfered with the King's authority to permit ship-building in his country. They insisted on being present when his letters to the Governor were written, so that he was prevented from making any confidential communication, or stating his grievances against the officials. He was once compelled to go in person a league in order to persuade the Captain of the Carreira to stay and help him (D 51). Perhaps the effrontery with which Antonio Moniz behaved towards him is the best illustration of the overweening vanity of the European official in his dealings with Asiatic potentates.

Every Portuguese tried to avoid the effect of the Regulations of 1543 as interfering with the unrestrained license which he desired, and these the King insisted on upholding; he was however quite content that their administration should be vested in an independent official, in order that there might be no appearance of prejudice, and that his own complaints should be dealt with by a judge from outside, who should report to the Governor (D 37, 51). A rumour had been set on foot that the Regulations were cancelled, but this he refused to believe without a definite communication to that effect from Lisbon (D 51, 55).

It is surprising to find that in spite of all the consideration they received at the King's hands, the settlers at Colombo could write to the Governor that he "who is known as a friend of the Portuguese is the greatest enemy we have here; so long as we do not defend ourselves against him, he worries us with safety to himself. He is now working against Christianity... We shall be compelled to abandon the country and leave the plantations which we have made" (D 50). Their special grievance seems to have been the Customs duties levied at the King's ports: they wanted differential treatment

and were dissatisfied that Lisbon supported the King on the point. They took the opportunity to make a foul charge about the King's personal morality: it is sufficient to say that the only other similar attempt to besmirch his character, was made by Dom Affonço de Noronha.

This letter clearly shows the embarrassing position in which the King found himself. It was a counterblast intended to render inoperative the report which João Fernandez de Vasconcellos was expected to send about his complaints. The King, they declared, set himself out to please influential men like him, feeling that he could safely ignore and oppress the others; so that, as in the case of Dom Affonço and the King's dealings with Dom Jorge, whatever the King did, it could be turned against him. And so the residents waxed eloquent: "Provide us with justice, and (do) not acquiesce in our being tyrannised over by this heathen King, as we are. For we have no hope that anyone will protect us save your Lordship" (D 50). And yet "The Portuguese through the whole of his realm enjoy as much liberty as if it were their inherited Casals and Quintas", remarked the Pandita, with much truth (D 58).

Migell Ferreira had spoken emphatically about the lawlessness of the Portuguese (D 1), and when Francisco Alvares, the Ouvidor, assumed duties at Colombo, he "found matters very wrong and a lack of discipline, for which reason the King and his people were displeased" (D 9). "In the country I did not find justice or order or the appearance of it", wrote Dom Affonço, and he directed the solteiros to go to India, so that they might not be wandering about the country creating disorder (D 57). "I had information that serious acts of brigandage and oppression were being carried on" he confessed (D 59). Matters must indeed have been bad for Dom Affonço to feel compelled to take such action.

When Bhuwanaika Bahu was girded with the Sword of State, not only did priests invoke blessings on him, but the representatives of his people imprecated a curse if he failed to rule in accordance with the Dasa Raja Dharma, the Ten Precepts for Kings; and but for the advent of the Portuguese, he might have gone down to history as a good and wise Governor. He was well gifted with the more feminine virtues,—truthfulness, candour, liberality, and patience. He was a loyal friend and could not be a bitter foe; but he lacked self-confidence, and circumstances tended to make him irresolute. Had Vikrama Bahu, for instance, been crushed when he first showed signs of insubordination, much trouble and danger would have been avoided; but he had not the capacity to organise the military resources of his country, and the Portuguese mercenaries were gladly welcomed, till soon they became the chief power in the land.

It was the King who represented the people; he was their champion and spokesman, the embodiment of their virtues, and also of most of their defects. His figure alone appeared on the stage, and Bhuwanaika Bahu, as first presented to us by Migell Ferreira, is a pathetic figure with his beard untrimmed for many days in his anguish of mind over Mayadunna's quarrel with him; and then, in his hour of triumph, he took his enemy's infant son in his arms and sobbed over him (D 1). He was gentle to the point of weakness; "I never knew to do ill to one who does it to me; how much more in the case of the Christians whom your Highness recommends to me so greatly", he protested to Dom João III, when repudiating the calumnious charge that he was oppressing them; "I would not pursue a double course" (D 51).

He was fully confident that if the conduct of his officers was brought to the notice of Dom João III, punishment would swiftly follow; in that conviction he bore everything patiently, "for the old and true friendship which

I have and shall continue to have with his Highness" (D 54).

"If Justice is not upheld in this matter I believe I must soon lose this my kingdom" (D 55). All through his long reign his confidence had been placed on the King who took his grandson under his protection, and to him he always looked in his troubles, because "I am not living but as a man in fear, for in fact I do not know who will protect me" (D 4). When Migell Ferreira came to his rescue, he was content to stand aside and leave the conduct of the negotiations in the soldier's hands (D 1). Complimentary messages through a special messenger from the King of Portugal probably gave him more joy than something much more substantial (D 2), and it was a pleasure to him to help the former's Queen to secure jewels in Ceylon. His treasury was freely opened to supply the needs of the Estado, and when at last the repeated demands on it proved too severe a strain, it was with the deepest regret that the application for a further loan was refused (D 54). The repayment of debts could wait for the convenience of the august debtor, and "if required, I will go in person, and everything I have stands ready when you need it" (D 51).

And yet libellous letters of all kinds from irresponsible parties were freely sent to the Governor (D 24). The gossip of the markets was solemnly tendered as proof of the King's evil disposition. He was intimidated by Antonio Moniz's bombast into making good a portion of the expences incurred by the latter on his expedition; therefore guilty knowledge on his part was regarded as the natural inference (D 49, 50).

Of a class with this were Dom Affonço's arguments when seeking to fasten on him the responsibility for Dom Jorge de Castro's disaster. It was admitted that the King had done his best to stop his going, and that his advice was put down in writing: but against this the

Viceroy took into consideration the fact that the King and Vikrama Bahu were relatives, who carried on a correspondence; therefore he presumed guilt and declared "I am of opinion he ought to receive some punishment" (D 57).

This is a fair sample of the kind of justice which on every occasion Dom Affonço expressed his determination to uphold.

The geniality with which the King received Frey João and his companions, was characteristic of the spirit of his religion. He gave them an annual allowance, and as the Friars would not receive the money into their hands, arranged for its disbursement through another. He made a similar allowance to the church of the Portuguese Confraria, with a contribution for making a silver chalice and incense-burner, which when ready were brought to him for inspection (D 12, 37). His people offered no opposition to the efforts of the missionaries, so long as they conducted themselves properly, and their churches were treated with "great honour and respect, as it is right should be the case", as the Pandita reported to the Queen (D 58). It should be a matter of pride to the Buddhist priesthood that nowhere in these letters is there any suggestion of their hostility. Any other attitude than tolerance between religions could not be conceived by them, while interference in affairs of State by priests vowed to unworldliness, was a monstrosity which stood self-condemned.

It is noteworthy that in spite of every temptation the King and his brother at no time fell short of the traditions of their ancient family, and that the possibility of bartering the faith of which they were the guardians, in exchange for the brute force of the foreigner, never entered their minds. Such a suggestion had only to be made to the King to be repudiated with emphasis (D 12), and yet the slander was energetically spread wherever the missionary influence could reach (D 40)

that he had obtained Friars from Portugal under promise of turning Christian. "This is a statement I did not make to you, nor did your Highness write to me such a thing . . . I only hear this being said by the Frey João de Villa de Conde" (D 51) wrote the King to Dom João III; and Frey João was fain to admit that the King's attitude on the point had been consistent (D 6), however great might be his own disappointment that it should be "so far removed from what the King our Lord expected out of the acts of friendship and benevolence which this King had received from him". The calumny however continued and was utilised by everyone who was ill disposed towards the King; it was conveyed to the saintly Xavier himself, and that honoured name was later dragged by Dom Affonço de Noronha into his strange arguments, to assist him to get money (D 59).

The trouble began when with conversion came a defiance of the King's authority. "Let me see that they are only making converts but not taking my people away from me", protested the King; "When they are Christians . . . I do not venture even to speak to them, as I have no authority over them." The criminal law, inheritance, land tenure, Royal dues, everything was expected to give way to suit them (D 12).

Dom João III had been appealed to on the subject and had laid it down that conversion did not emancipate a slave or relieve a freeman from the liabilities which the land tenure of the country imposed on him (Chan. de Dom João III, Livro vi, f. 45 v), but this did not suit the converts and their friends. The King insisted that Custom must be maintained inviolate, and the result was that charges of oppression and attempting to prevent conversion were recklessly levelled at him on every opportunity. Frey João's sympathy with the converts led him sometimes further than could be justified, and it is perhaps disappointing to find him and the Guarda Mors champion-

ing the same cause (D 19). Frey Diogo Bermudes, however, could complain that it was not only the King's interference which prevented conversion, but the oppression of the converts by the Captains and other Portuguese officials (D 39); while Mestre Francisco Xavier wrote bitterly of "the evil treatment which the Captains and Factors inflict on those who are newly converted" (D 53).

The opposition of the clergy with their immense political influence was a matter of profound concern. Frey João had no longer a friendly word for him, and his letters were full of complaints: "he allows the Christians to be badly treated, for he does not care for them" (D 6). If the Governor received good reports of the King, the writers must be interested parties, whereas the Frey considered himself the spokesman of "these poor and helpless souls . . . whom the devil by himself and his servants—one of whom is the King—is labouring to drag . . . under his banner" (D 19). The King, he declared, hated the Christians and could not bear to look at them; he would not employ them about his person on the plea that with them he was exposed to risk. The Frey resented the independent tone of the King's reply to the Governor: he was assuming the airs of a Grand Senhor, and peremptorily refusing the request that he should turn Christian. The Frey went so far as to assert that the Portuguese were in fear of his doing them harm and to beg the Governor for protection.

It was obvious he wished to have nothing more to do with the King; a more promising field had been found in Vikrama Bahu: "As in your time our Lord is commencing a matter of such importance, my opinion is that you ought to bring it to a conclusion" (D 19) he urged on the Governor.

The conversion of Princes was regarded as a good business proposition for laymen. Andre de Sousa and his two Franciscans had abused the King's hospitality,

persuaded a weak-minded Queen to betray the King's interests, and so influenced three young Princes that two of them escaped from their father's home and fled to India to be baptised, while death prevented their brother, who was secretly baptised, from doing the same. His death was made the occasion for foul charges of murder and attempted murder against the King, to which the ignorant youths were induced to lend their name, and silly stories of miracles, for the benefit of the simple-minded and credulous abroad (D 11, 14, 15); while the King was kept in a state of acute nervousness as to the possible results of de Sousa's intrigues at Goa and Lisbon (D 9, 16, 18). He had reason to be nervous; the question of depriving him of his Kingdom had been broached: it was being urged that he had entered into a conspiracy with Mayadunna to prevent further conversion, and to stop the supply of cinnamon (D 18, 22); and Dom João III was persuaded that he had plotted to murder his own son (D 25). The death of the Princes brought this unpleasant incident to a close and deprived de Sousa of the reward which was intended for him, namely, the office of "Captain and Governor" for life of such Seignories as finally became the Prince's, with the control of the Pescaria or Pearl Fishery for four years, for which he had asked (D 17); while Mestre Diogo, the priest, lost the Bishopric for which he was recommended (D 16).

Another similar adventurer was Nuno Alvares Pereira, soldado and chief adviser of Vikrama Bahu, who had not met Portuguese before. "He is a man of great worth" reported Frey Symão, "and the King does nothing except as he tells him; he is the Veador da Fazenda, and if he knew his language, he will rule the Kingdom" (D 40). His private occupation was that of a dealer in jewels and other curiosities; he probably considered himself deeply religious, and accordingly headed business letters with the name of

Jesus (D 5); but his restless energy, persuasiveness, and perhaps unscrupulousness, enabled him to start a series of projects which resulted in grave disaster to everyone concerned.

The procedure adopted was simple; Vikrama Bahu was in desperate need of help in his wars, and Pereira undertook to conduct the necessary negotiations. Letters written in Portuguese which Vikrama Bahu could not read, and containing the most extravagant promises, were addressed to all who were in a position to influence the question, and whether Pereira had duped himself or not, he certainly succeeded in misleading nearly everyone else, including Dom João de Castro, who even decided to undertake the proposed task in person (D 22). Vikrama Bahu it was declared, with all his family and subjects, would turn Christian: the resources of his country would be at the disposal of the King of Portugal: his daughter could be given in marriage at the Governor's choice: and all that was needed in return, was a few Portuguese to assist him.

Migell Ferreira, Andre de Sousa, and Antonio Moniz Baretto in turn undertook the venture, only to find that Vikrama Bahu repudiated the alleged promises. "He said that Nuno Alvarez told him that the Senhor Governor would come to crown him and he would be Emperador over the Island and everyone would kiss his feet and be his vassals and tributaries, and he would take vengeance on Madunne". (D 38). These conditions, Vikrama Bahu pointed out, had to be fulfilled before questions of conversion could be approached.

The results of these expeditions have already been narrated; and Nuno Alvares never obtained the recompense for which he hoped, the *Factory of Tricona Malai* for himself and his descendants (D 41).

The King would appear to have been in communication with Vikrama Bahu during the visits of the Portuguese,

and the responsibility for this failure was laid on him. Even the gentle Frey Symão was very angry: "he is so opposed to the spread of our holy catholic Faith" he wrote to Dom João III, "I am certain that if he had not interfered with his alarms, by this time the whole kingdom of Cande would have turned to our holy Faith" (D 40). The King, he said, was describing the Portuguese as a set of brigands who would not let him wear a gold collar around his own neck; and he was defying the authority of Goa.

It was bad enough when Antonio Moniz (D 45) and Frey João, who was largely responsible for the former's attempt (D 42, 43), adopted the same attitude, and not less emphatically (D 46, 49); it became much more serious when Francisco Xavier could bring himself to write to Dom João III "You may know for certain that God has a great enemy in Ceilão in the King" (D 53). The fiery missionary at times failed to weigh quite dispassionately the reports brought to him by others.

Conversion as a means of increasing the Seignories of the King of Portugal (D 11) carried within it the seeds of its own destruction, and the religious teacher was often unrecognisable in his political garb. Even Mestre Francisco could declare that he was "afraid by our experience of the past that (the King) is going to be more favoured by your Highness than are the Frades of San Francisco who are in Ceilão" (D 53). Though the missionary professed humility, he was very human and sometimes inclined to an undue opinion of his own value. "They wished to drive me, who am a Frade, altogether out of the land" was Frey Antonio's haughty complaint against Andre de Sousa (D 29). In his own way he was a shrewd and clear sighted observer, on whose judgment others were accustomed to rely (D 7). He correctly gauged the nature of de Sousa, who in chagrin retorted "Let not your Lordship put your trust in learned doctors or priests or

anything else but God alone" (D 27); but he was querulous, domineering, and in his neurotic enthusiasm, impatient of all opposition. He certainly went beyond reasonable limits when he threatened with excommunication those who obeyed Dom Jorge de Castro's orders, which did not suit his wishes, and so forced that commander to change his plans (D 58).

Frey João had much of the same kind of feeling; his disappointment over his failure to convert the King was largely personal; he had expected some brilliant achievement, which would have drawn the attention of Christendom to his work in the same way as that of St. Francis had done, and his lack of success appears to have soured him.

Conversion ceased to be a matter of faith. The conversion of Kings was desirable as that of their people would follow as a matter of course. "If the King of Cande turn Christian, to my thinking there can be no better road for the conversion of all the Kings and people of this country" was Frey João's view (D 6), and that idea was eagerly seized upon by lay intermeddlers. "If he became a Christian", wrote the residents of Colombo, "that was sufficient for all to become the same; this your Lordship can take as certain, for these people are of that nature" (D 50). "It concerns the salvation of the whole of this Island—so many men, so many women, so many children, so much wealth" snuffled Jorge Velho from his sick bed (D 13).

Frey Symão's views were frankly imperialistic "If your Highness had Ceilão for your own, and the Kings thereof as vassals, as this king is becoming, I am certain you will hold India secure. Because if any harm happen to India, that cannot be set right from any other spot except Ceilão, especially from this kingdom of Cande. For it is a place so strong that even if one had the whole of the power of the Turk, it cannot be taken" (D 40).

Nevertheless, one cannot avoid a feeling of regret that Frey João in spite of his further disappointment over Vikrama Bahu, could see in the proposal to rob him and divide his treasure, an "arrangement regarding Christianity and the service of the King our Lord" (D 49).

Dom João III was anxious for royal converts; the prince Dom João of Ceylon was to be treated with much favour "because when you act thus towards him, apart from its being something which is much due, it will serve as a powerful incentive to the rest to do the same as he did" (D 20). Dom Affonço appreciated his Master's wishes; "This letter should be entirely one of good news" he declared, when announcing that he had succeeded in securing three "Kings" of between four and eighteen years; "in view of the age at which they came for baptism (they) appear to receive Christian doctrine in their cradle" (D 60).

A not unnatural consequence followed, and conversion became a matter of barter. Dom João de Castro himself authorised Migell Ferreira to arrange for the conversion of the Brahmin claimant to Jafana Patam, with his dependants, in exchange for the restoration of his kingdom (D 26, 32). Francisco Xavier wrote to his King that the brother of the ruling Chief also was agreeable to enter into the same arrangement "and this would be very excellent for winning their souls and making them Christians". At the same time there was the suggestion that Dom João's mother, with all her relatives and dependants, would become Christian if the country were given to her son. The difficulty was to decide which course was most in the service of the Lord. It is true Dom João III had formally admitted Bhuwanaika Bahu's title to the country, and promised to help him to get it back; the necessity for keeping this promise was not considered a matter of importance (D 25).

The helpful effects of force on conversion were well recognised. If the Ceylon Princes were placed in Jafana Patam, Duarte Teixeira shrewdly pointed out, conversion would only follow if they had an effective force behind them (D 8). If the Governor or his son could come to VikramaBahu's help, the whole of his country would be converted; failing them "the last resort is a Captain such as Dom Jorge de Castro with a force of 300 men", suggested Dom Antonio (D 29), with whom Andre de Sousa agreed (D 30). Frey Symão was even more frank. "When they should see that Your Highness favoured the King of Camdy, immediately all the others will desire to be so, and the faith of our Lord will be exalted. Let not Your Highness think, that should this be by force, it will not be good. Because from these first Christians who are the fathers and already old, we do not desire anything, but only from the children and those who will come afterwards. For these children being presently instructed in our holy faith, will teach the fathers whom they now have and their children, when they shall obtain them" (D 40).

Antonio Moniz Baretto's experiences with his converts while on his way to Vikrama Bahu are very interesting: "All these were converted as they live near Camdy, and were afraid that if they are heathen, while the King of Camde became a Christian, I would destroy them and take from them their lands and give them to the Christians of Camde; and therefore they struggled as to who should be first" (D 45). "They present so many obstacles to the Holy Spirit that I believe this cannot be done except with a strong hand . . . I am of opinion that the King Our Lord should provide a remedy for this", hinted Frey João darkly (D 46). "Once we build a Castello in Colombo, all will be secure and Christianity will spread to the glory of Jesus Christ", piously commented Frei Antonio (D 48). "Order the Governor that he should

carefully look after this Christianity and greatly favour these Christians; because if he does not do so, it cannot progress", again urged Frey Symão (D 40).

One is relieved not to find traces of the fanaticism which at Goa was capable of burning human beings alive, to the greater glory of their Maker.

Even a Frade when disappointed did not always abstain from using harsh language. Of this the King received a generous share. Vikrama Bahu declared that he sent the Portuguese away as he found them to be false, and Frey João angrily retorted that the true reason was "his great wickedness, for he is a bad man". Frey Joanino, the admirer of Dom Affonço, no doubt sympathised with him over his failure to convert Dharma Pala; but there is little excuse for his suggesting about that helpless boy "it seems that he did not deserve that from our Lord owing to his wickedness" (D 61).

To denationalise the race was not the policy of the missionary, but such was the tendency of the course he pursued. With baptism came a re-birth under a foreign name, it may be Manuel, João, or Martin Affonço, and every royal convert was dubbed a Dom. Frey Symão is condescendingly enthusiastic regarding Vikrama Bahu's son: "His thoughts are not those of a black, but of one who greatly desires to copy the Christian Kings both in his manner of life as in all else; for he says that when he becomes a Christian he is not going to have in his house any but Portuguese" (D 40). "He asked me how they called the first King of Portugal. I replied that he was Affonço Ammriques. He answered that they must name him also the same."

The missionary unconsciously felt that the manners and customs of his co-religionists were superior to those of the heathen, though he did not express his opinion with the offensiveness of later times. He had his slogans and shibboleths, and a singularly profound knowledge

of certain narrow aspects of human psychology. He was honestly delighted at any imitation, however superficial, of what he considered christian ways; a Hebrew name and a Portuguese title were held up as the hall-mark of an enlightened Prince; neither he nor his convert stopped to inquire in what consisted their superiority. Quite innocently but none the less effectively, the suggestion of inferiority, which is still being employed with much success, was introduced. The language which was put by Frey Symão into the mouth of Vikrama Bahu's son when speaking of his father, was hardly adapted to increase filial respect.

Royal customs which had been observed for two-thousand years, were to be swept away to make room for something else which was not known, but was said to be practised in christian lands. Leaders with ideas like these were not what the country needed; it was on such lines that her leaders were soon being trained. The missionary's slack of foresight and reflection has caused much hurt to the country, but much more to his religion.

It was regarded as a matter of course that the converts should attach themselves to the Portuguese. The Pay dos Christaões whom Dom Affonço appointed was not only to be the converts' spokesman with their King, but he was also to send reports to the King of Portugal (D 57). "This country is in such a state" wrote the residents of Colombo, "that a large portion of the people would become Christian if they were to see the ability of the Portuguese to defend them from the hardships which the King inflicts on them for becoming Christian; but the help they get from us is so small that they do not dare to remain on our side" (D 50).

Had the Frades confined themselves strictly to their duties as religious teachers, which was what was expected of them when they were admitted into the country, and made their appeal to the emotions, even if they could not

influence the intellects, of its people, they might have rendered better service to their God and their King; at any rate they would have caused less trouble in Ceylon. However that may be, Bhuwanaika Bahu would appear to have understood the spirit of Christianity better than they did, when he remarked "as this is the work of God, it is not to be achieved by force; he will decide when it is most to his service" (D 51).

DOCUMENT 1

Migell Ferreira to Dom João III.

Senhor,

Last year the Governor, Nuno da Cunha, sent me word that I would greatly assist your Highness' service if I would get together 300 men in the Choromandel Coast and secure a vessel for them, and go to the help of the King of Ceilão as he was at war with his brother who was receiving many men and much assistance from the King of Calecut. As I saw that this was in your Highness' service, I at once with much diligence collected 400 Portuguese, of whom 300 were espingardeiros, and all not engaged in your Highness' service, and provided good boats and food in abundance, and bought arms for several of them, and gave them everything they needed, and all at my expense.

I started from the house of the Apostle San Thome with all these men, but on reaching the Baixos of Chilau I was handed a letter from the Viceroy directing me to go with the utmost speed and meet him wherever he might be, for the Rumes were in India and held Dio under siege and were fighting with him fiercely.

Senhor, that very hour I set off in the teeth of the wind and storm, and by dint of rowing reached the Barra of Guoa where the Viceroy stood ready to start. A few days later news arrived that the Rumes had fled, and then I went with him to Dio. There a message from the King of Ceilão reached him that his brother had taken from him the whole of his country, that he had nothing left for himself but Cota, and that the Viceroy must help him with aid. Thereupon he sent for me and told me that your Highness' service urgently demanded that I should go to Ceilão to help the King, emphasizing the

profit which your Highness derived from it, and that if the land were lost, your Highness' loss would be great. He gave me immediate instructions as to what I had to do, and also a Regimento for that purpose, and directed me to go to the Veador da Fazenda at Guoa, who would furnish me with an advance for the voyage.

I went to Guoa and applied to the Veador, who replied that he had no money there and that I should meet all the costs of the Armada out of my resources, as your Highness' service so demanded it, and I would be repaid later, while your Highness had no more than one fusta. As I saw that your Highness' service needed it, I forthwith secured thirteen fustas and catures, all at my expense, and got them ready with food and everything necessary. I collected in Guoa and Cochim 350 men, all fighting men whom I knew, and thus I set out excellently furnished with warlike stores.

I started from Couchim and reached a place named Berinjam, near Cape Comorin, from where Pate merqua had started with his armada a few days before. We went there to get water for going across, and they tried to prevent us; therefore I landed and burnt the place as well as their naos and zambuquos, and killed many of their men.

From there, Senhor, I crossed to Cheilam and some days later sighted the port of Culumbo, with all the fustas in front of me, and they got to the port while I remained half a league away. Here a message came to me from the King of Ceilão that already he had nothing but Cota; that Pate merqua and his brother Cunhale merqua, and many other leading Moors of Calequa, with their armada were at the port of Gubumbo (Negumbo), five leagues away.

As soon as I saw the message I drew near that coast and signalled to the fustas, all of which at once followed me. I arrived opposite the port, and the fleet of Pate merqua

tried to come outside. I followed up across the Barra, and at that moment there came four of your Highness' fustas and two catures. I got into a catur and started to go within, whereupon they tried to make their way up an esteiro. At this time the sea was ebbing and the rest of your Highness' fustas were unable to enter and I was inside with four fustas and two catures with the men of my fusta whom I took with me. The sun was now about to set and as I was afraid of their getting away with their armada during that night by one side, I decided to attack them at once with those few men I had, and immediately ordered the four fustas and two catures to go up the esteiro and attack them, while I went by land with seventy men, and our fustas and catures drew up on land and they began to fire the bombardas fiercely, the one against the others. At this moment I got there and we began to make play with our spears and to fight hand to hand, one against the other; and they thought it best to retreat; those who could escaped into the forest and many others remained, so I seized their paraos with all their artillery, espingardas, and arms, without giving them any chance of taking them away.

From there I turned back to the Rio with all their armada, and the next day went on land and burnt the whole township of the Moors, and forthwith sent word to the King to send me a man to stay there in charge of that district. He sent me one and I turned back with your Highness' armada and that of Pate merqua and reached the port of Culumbo.

Immediately there came there two sons of the King, whom he sent to summon me, and he ordered great rejoicings at Cota. When I arrived the King was there trimming his beard, and he told me that for many days he had not done so as he saw himself dispossessed and robbed of his Kingdom, and that had I delayed three days longer he, as well as his sons, would have perished;

and that he hoped in God that your Highness would give him back his Kingdom in a few days from then. He also ordered all the men I brought with me to be immediately given two months' pay at the rate of four pardaos a month.

A few days later we got ready and started from there, and came alongside a river which is a league and a half from Cota. The river is a great one and there are three other small rivers which go and fall into it, and there close to the river people passed by a bridge, and there the Moors had great tranqueiras at those small bridges, and on the opposite bank also they had tranqueiras with which they guarded those bridges, as they had no other passo, and here we began fighting.

I had three hundred men with espingardas, and they also had many espingardas and field artillery, and there they wounded sixteen of my men. I took the first bridge and passed on to the next, where also they had many espingardas; but after fighting with them in a campo they abandoned that too, and then I fought with them in a campo where there was a strong pagoda close by. There we killed some few of the leading Moors of Calecut, and the rest retired to the pagoda. Your Highness' men attacked the pagoda and entered it, and here all the Moors who were within were killed.

We stayed there five days and from there the King went to the base of the serra where his brother stood, and we came to a campo at the extremity of which was a great bridge, and on crossing the bridge there rose the serra which might be a besta. On reaching the campo it was full of men and elephants and much field artillery, and we at once began to fight; and there they got such a trouncing that they would not again show their faces, but fled by the road of the serra, and in this the night came to their help.

The next day early in the morning a woman came with two of Madune's Captains and gave the King a message

that Madune entirely desired peace and would do everything the King wanted from him. The King replied that he had nothing to do with the matter, that the message should be given to me, and I would give her the answer. She forthwith brought it to me and I told her that immediately the next day before morning he must send me a son of his, of whom he was very fond, and he should send me two of his chief captains, whom I asked him to name; if not, they should tell the Moors to get ready as I was coming to dine with them.

Early the next morning he sent me the Captains and a son and with them a greatly honoured woman. The son was a moço of perhaps eight years, and when the King saw him he took him in his arms and began to cry with him. I then sent him there a Portuguese to ask him to send me Pate merqua, his brother, nephew, his brother-in-law, and six Captains whom he brought, who were distinguished Moors; and to say that if any of them escaped, by whatever means it might be, he could be assured there would be no settlement and he would get into great troubles; that he should be glad to hand them over to me, for thereby he would obtain high honour by having your Highness for his friend: that he should realize what a great thing it was to have so great a Prince for his friend.

He sent me a reply through Manuel de Queiroz and a Captain of his that I ought to consider what a humiliation and shame it was for him to hand over the men who had come to help him, and that I should ask him for all the money I wanted, and he would give it to me, and that I should not speak about the Moors, but that later he would send them away to a port and send and inform me, and they could not lay the blame on him.

I sent a reply that I had no need of money, and I was not a man of money: he should not waste words,

and he must hand the Moors over to me immediately. He was keeping a strong guard over them from the time that he sent me his son. I sent him long messages over this matter and he sent the same to me, all to the effect of his promising me all the money I wanted. Last of all he gave orders to kill them and sent me their heads. He sent me those of Pate merqua, Cunhali merqua, his nephew, his brother-in-law, and several other Captains; he surrendered to the King all the territory and sea ports he occupied and paid him all the expenses he had incurred over the war.

So the King came back to his Cota highly pleased and satisfied and mightily praising your Highness for ordering that his Kingdom which he had wholly lost should be restored to him.

When he was in Cotta the following day he sent for me and made great complaints against Pero Vaz Travassos, the Factor. In my presence this man committed some lawless acts and very shameful deeds; he grossly insulted the King and used very foul language towards him, and so humiliated was he with it that I saw the King with tears trickling down his beard at the insults which Pero Vaz offered to him. The people who witnessed these incidents were the clerk of the Factory, named Jeronimo Rodrigues, and a son of Diogo Lopez de Sequeira named Lopo Vaz de Sequeira, and a certain Andre de Souza, and a padre who celebrates Mass, who was there, and several other persons.

The King urgently demanded from me, on your Highness' part, that I should take him to the Viceroy with the charges against him, and made a long protest that I should report to your Highness that he was unable to supply the cinnamon with Pero Vaz. After these applications and protests were made, the Padre Commissary who was on his way to San Thome, arrived there. On behalf of your Highness I asked him and Lopo Vaz de

Sequeira and Diogo Chainho and Antonio Mendez de Vasconcelos and all the others whom your Highness will see there by the papers and report which was drawn up regarding that matter, that they should place the hand on some Gospels. They immediately placed it, to the effect that they would carefully scrutinise those applications and protests which the King was making, and that by the oath which they took they would state well and truthfully their opinion on that matter so that your Highness' service should not suffer: for if the cinnamon were not collected your Highness would lose 50,000 cruzados, which is a very heavy loss. The Padre Commissary immediately declared that since the King insisted on Pero Vaz going and it was of such great concern to your Highness' service, his opinion was that Pero Vaz should be sent to the Viceroy and that they should give him all the instruments and papers he demanded. All the others said the same and all affirmed thereto. I conveyed the decision of those men to him and immediately started, and now after his death, his brother, the Secretary, is suing me.

I assure your Highness that if you do not provide Ceilão with some little justice, to the best of my judgment it will last but a very short time. And this I say to your Highness because from the letters and complaints of the King you will see how great is the truth I speak to your Highness in everything.

Many times I have written to your Highness and told you of my services, that for thirty years I am serving in these parts, and before coming here I served for two years in Arzilla with the Conde de Barba; and now the Viceroy will give your Highness an account of the men with whom I helped him and of what I did in Ceilão, and if I deserve it make me a merçê. Your Highness can inform yourself of my services from Martin Afonso de Sousa and Nuno da Cunha, and by Doctor Pero Vaz.

the Veador da Fazenda. I do not desire to mention to your Highness what I did in the time of Affonço de Albuquerque as the Viceroy, who was here at that time, knows that well.

The reward which I crave from your Highness is that you should make me a mercê of Ceilão for my life; and let not your Highness think that you are giving it to me for many days, for in view of my age I imagine they will be few. I, Senhor, first decided to ask your Highness for Choromandel, but to-day that is in so evil a state that I do not venture to set it right or to serve your Highness there. For that reason I beseech you to make me a mercê of Ceilão for my life, as I hope in our Lord to render you such great service in Ceilão that your Highness may be pleased to make me a greater reward than I ask from you. Your Highness should not hold me of small worth because the reward I ask is so small, as I know well that I am worth much; and by the matters which the Governors had placed in my hands and the account which I give of myself, judge me by that.

I assure your Highness that I have expended everything I possessed in your service; some trifle remained with the Veador da Fazenda. I have but that for your Highness' service and he has it there. If your Highness does not grant me the reward I crave from you, there are those hospitals of your Highness where they will give me food for the love of God.

Our Lord increase the days of your Highness' life and your royal Estate.

From Goa the twenty sixth of November, 1539.

Migell Fra.

For the King our Lord.

NOTE TO DOCUMENT 1

The following is an appointment by Dom João III to the offices of Alcaide Mor and Factor of Ceilão.

Dom Johann etc.

To all who shall see this my Carta I make known that as I have confidence in Antonio Bareto, fidalgo of my Household, that in this he will serve me well and faithfully with the devotion and fealty which is due to my service, as it pleases me to make him a mercê, I ordain and make him a mercê of the offices of Alcayde Moor and Factor of Ceylom for a period of three years and with an Ordenado of one hundred and twenty milreis in each one year, on the conclusion or avoidance of the term of persons who might be provided with the said offices of Alcaide and Factor by my provisions alone issued previous to this Carta.

I thus notify to my Capitan Moor and Governor in the parts of India, and to the Vedor of my Fazenda there, and I command that as soon as it is thus open to the said Antonio Barreto to enter on the said offices, they shall forthwith place him in possession thereof and permit him to serve for the said period and to enjoy in each one year the Ordenado, proes and precalços which rightly appertain to him without impediment or prevention of any kind, which may be raised.

And by this I command the Factor and Officers of the Casa da India to provide him with his passage according to the Regulation, and to cause this to be registered in the Books of the Registers of the said Casa, the which shall pass through my Chancellery, where the said Antonio Barreto shall swear on the holy Gospels that he will well and truly serve in the said offices, guarding in everything my service and on his side his interests.

And in confirmation thereof I command to issue to him this Carta signed by me and sealed with my seal pendant.

Francisco de Bayros did this in Palmela on the fifteenth of March in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1531.

And a Carta which the said Antonio Barreto holds by which I have made him a merçê of the office of Captain of the sea of Maluco and Alcayde Moor of the fortress of the said Maluco for the period of three years, granted in Lisboa on the thirtieth of March of the past year 1530, was cancelled on the signature of this and replaced by the other of which I thus make him a merçê.

Chancellaria de Dom João III. Livro 9. f. 23 v.

DOCUMENT 2

Dom Estevão da Gama to Dom João III.

* * *

Your Highness further wrote to me regarding the King of Ceilão; I did everything which your Highness commanded, by the ship which went for the cinnamon, and which started after the arrival of the ships; I also sent him a great present and wrote to him such words as I think will content him, and further conveyed to him your Highness' orders regarding his grandson and his brother, assuring him that I would effect for him everything which concerned his honour. And because the weather is giving no chance for more, I am not doing anything.

I also reported to him how your Highness, because of your affection for him, made a mercê of the Factory to Manoell de Queiroz and owing to his death this became ineffective.

Under the same heading your Highness wrote about the attitude which should be maintained towards him. Just now I think that since your Highness is sending him a present from Portugal and is writing letters expressing your pleasure at his friendship and at the manner he has served you up till now, this will be a great honour for him, such as he, like everyone, desires. Your Highness should send along with the present and letters a person to accompany them and go there for his greater satisfaction at seeing that it is sent to him by your Highness and not by the Governor of India.

With reference to what your Highness wrote as to who ought to succeed him in the Kingdom, everything must be done to prevent its being his brother, who for a long time has been ill disposed towards your Highness

and your people; and if it is possible that the grandson should be the one to succeed him, even though it should entail your Highness' keeping there some men to assist him and to maintain him in power, it would seem to me very desirable. Your Highness asks who succeeds to the Kingdom of right; in Malavar, the son or grandson does not inherit; the nephew or brother must inherit; but here very often he who has the greater power is accustomed to succeed.

Dom Estevão da Gama to the King,

Goa, 11 November 1540

Corpo Chronologico, 1. 9. 99.

DOCUMENT 3

Alvara of Dom João III.

Dom Joham

To all who see this Carta of mine I make known that Buhanegua Bahu King of Ceilão sent me word by Pamditer his ambassador, that by the great confidence he has of Taomapala Pandarym his grandson, the son of his own daughter, that after his own days he will know to rule well and govern his realm, and will maintain his subjects and Vassals in all justice, and will preserve in its fulness the true friendship which exists between us, as he greatly desires that all his heirs and successors should,

And requested that I should appoint that at his death the said his grandson shall inherit and succeed in the said kingdom, and I having regard to it being the custom for the sons to succeed the fathers in the said Kingdom and that the said Tammappalla Pandaryn is his grandson, son of his daughter, and there is no other son or grandson of the said King save him, wherefore in accordance with the said custom it belongs to him of right,

And for my great desire of pleasing therein the said King of Ceyllam alike for the mighty good will which he has, as for the good acts which he always delights to do in all the matters which arise regarding my service, and for my hope regarding the said his grandson that he also will act thus and cherish and preserve this our friendship and be grateful to me and merit all the good deeds which I do to him,

And for other just causes which move me thereto, I, by this present Carta decree and it is my pleasure, that on the death of the said Buhanega Baho King of Ceilão, he the said Tammappala Pandarym his grandson do

inherit and succeed in the said Kingdom and be the King thereof as and in the manner that the said his grandfather holds and possesses it today, without doubt, hindrance or contradiction of any kind.

Wherefore I thus notify to the Capitão Moor and Governor of the parts of India, the Veador of my Fazenda, and to all and every other my Captains, officers and persons to whom this my Carta may be shown and knowledge thereof appertains, and I command them to hold the said Tammaapalla Pandarym as true and lawful heir of the said Kingdom of Ceyllam, and on the death of the said King his grandfather, they should allow him to inherit and succeed therein and give him towards that end all favour and help he demands from them, and defend him from all those who may desire to hinder and oppose him, for thus I hold to be right and in my service.

And for his assurance I command to give him this Carta signed by me and sealed with my seal of lead and passed by my Chancellaria.

Given in the Villa of allmeiryem the twelfth day of March. Pero Fernandez did this.

In the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1543.

Chancel. de D. João III. Liv. 6 fl. 43 v

(printed in O Thesouro do Rei de Ceylão by Sousa Viterbo.)

DOCUMENT 4

The King of Ceilão to the Infante Dom Luis

Senhor,

My ambassador gave me a letter from your Highness, and, certes, I see clearly therein how great is your wish to do me favour, and I know that always you will do me favour, because you know that I am of your Highness and the King your brother; and, certes, this good wish will never die in me and at all times I shall be at your service with such deeds as I can and all that I have in this my realm.

My ambassador reported to me here what great favour and honour your Highness showed him there; I receive them as a very high compliment; and, certes, when he related to me the magnificence of your Highness, one cannot expect anything else therefrom. May it please God to give me life so that I can be of service to you in some trifling manner.

I, Senhor, decided to send him at once to India, with the resolution that he should go to Portugal if the Viceroy does not dispose of his business. I request your Highness, if he should come there, to help him with the King your brother, since what he is going to do affects the prosperity of this realm, which I hold in order to serve him. I entreat your Highness to succour me because I assure you I am not living but as a man in fear, for in fact I do not know who will protect me, because my brother is my chief enemy, and he is always plotting treason against me, as my ambassador will report to you in greater detail, about that and all other matters as well. Your Highness can give him full credence regarding all things he tells you on my behalf.

I also bring to your notice that the Kingdoms of Camdia and of Jafanapatão belonged to my Realm and Seignory, for which reason I request your Highness to arrange with the King your brother that I should take possession of them, because they are mine of right, and you know well that I do not wish for them except to be able to look after them better, as I am doing and always shall do with this.

As to everything else about this country my ambassador will tell you all if he come there.

May God increase your Highness' Estate and life for many years.

From this my Cidade of Cota, the 28th of November 1543.

(in Sinhalese) Sri.

To the Most Excellent Senhor Dom Luis, Infante of Portugall.

Corpo Chron. 1. 74. 25.

DOCUMENT 5

Nuno Alvares Pereira to the Ouvidor.

Jhesus

The twelfth of September 1545

Senhor,

Because of the road it was necessary to employ this manner, which is different from ours. On the tenth of the aforesaid month a man came to the King from Cota with four letters, two for the King—one from your Worship and the other from Senhor Duarte Teixeira—and two for me, and he further brought a small ola for the King. I read and explained to the King your Worships' letters, and also from the letters to me I told him what seemed to me most to the service of God and our King, which is the path most of us desire to follow.

As for the Topaz whom your Worship said you sent here, he has not come nor any other message since four or five months, though every month there come messages from Cota to the King. Those of your Worship they always delivered to him by word of mouth, and similarly to me, and in the matters they stated I knew there were falsehoods.

As to the visit your Worship paid to this King at the instance of his Lordship the Governor, it has been very good and was just in time. I think it will please Jesus Christ and that it will profit much.

As for that Bramene of Portugal who your Worship says sent here another Bramene of his, who is here in the company of the Chamguatar who is gone to Matecalou, he came here with messages to the King and to me three times, after which I have not received them. He sent to tell me nonsense and to boast of the power and influence

he had and that the affairs of Cota were all in his hand; there will come to him also his time for repentance.

If his Lordship come, as we all expect, this King is firmly in his hands, as he is asking for our religion, as he wrote an olla to me. I have now twice reported this to the Senhor Duarte Teixeira, when I gave some account of the matters which were taking place here. The one was taken by a Bramine who had become a Jogue, and whom the King sent with letters for Amaro Mendes and Miguel Ferreira. He started from here some time in April, but I have no reply from him. I wrote of the desire which this King said that he had. Also of another message which I have here in an olla from a moço who is now in the Seven Corllas, to the effect that he was anxious to be a Christian, and that they should show him the way how he should come among the Portuguese, to become such. It seems to me desirable to send people there; if your Worship can send some message to him, try and do so: because they are of this nature and wish for this and they have no way. It is sufficient to send and tel. him if he is in need of any matter, that he should say sol His mother is here at the palace of the King and she never stops sending to me to recommend this son, that the Portuguese should save him, and that she will follow them by the road which he takes.

And I also told him of the chief people of Trycanamalle who were here, and how with them more than 3000 people will become Christians, and they have sent a message with the Brahmin who has gone and some of them are now fugitives in Jafanapatão, and some are here hoping for nothing else but this.

And of the others in this secret, as your Worship says, who spoke to me here, I do not make mention, because the King requests this urgently, and his son, that if he cannot be a Christian here, he will hasten there.

The mother of the Princes who became Christian, and his own, were sisters, and he is desirous of pursuing their road, as he wrote there. It is also certain that his father and he will entrust themselves to me, and he bid me to write for my part to your Worship of this wish and desire of his, and that they would entrust themselves altogether to the King of Portugal and to the Lord Governor, to take nothing more nor less than the road which he points out to them. And if he did not have the desire to be a friend he would not have sent so many messages; up till now he was a friend; now he wishes to be your Worship's friend and companion in the Faith. He requests from the King our Lord and the Lord Governor, that if he does not come or someone with whom he can finish this business, your Worship should take charge of them and look after them in the same way as he has charge of those Princes. And if he fail to do all that they bid him, and takes another path, then let them abandon him altogether and destroy him.

And the King says that if the Governor does not come nor men from India, and if you are unable to give him any relief in respect of that which he has mentioned, that you should immediately send and tell him; then he will do what seems best to him. Till this message comes, he will remain without doing anything in regard to himself.

And as regards the marriage of his daughter, he is waiting for this message, and if that should be favourable, he will do with her whatever the Lord Governor desires. If he wishes to give her to the grandson of the King, that will be done; or if to one of the Princes, he can do so or to whomever he likes.

As for the War, he will keep it up without making any decision till a reply comes to him from your Worship. And if the decision is to make an attack from there on the people here, there is no need to recommend

it to him as I know well he has such an intention. I sent another letter to the Senhor Duarte Teixeira which referred to the matters of those who wished to be Christians. It was taken by a Canarese who brought me here a letter from Gaspar Carvalho; this was two and a half months ago. Through this man the King turned to write to Amaro Mendes and to Miguell Ferreira. In this way the King has written six or seven times regarding his friendship with the Portuguese. By this time your Worship will know how they took from him in Jaffanapatam 10,000 Chacrans and two precious stones which he had sent, as I have written to the Senhor Duarte Teyxeira.

I also wrote through a Perro who is here with messages from Pajen and he took two letters, promising me that he is going to bring a reply, and he told me that he gave them to your Worship and that at the time that he gave them the King had instructed your Worship and Duarte Teixeira to go to Negumbo to welcome certain Christians of the country, and for this reason he told him to return and he should send the message by another.

This Perro is the man to whom Manoel Roiz Coutinho gave the letters from the Lord Governor, for the King and for me, and this Perro sent and gave them to the King of Cota, so that no letter can come with a man from there into the hands of the Portuguese.

The affairs of this King are in the condition which I mention to your Worship, in the hope of a reply. Many matters are taking place here which I am not able to write about now. If the Lord Governor comes, it is necessary to open a road to be able to come here immediately.

Senhor, it is close on two years ago that the King sent from here a Portuguese with a bracelet and letters for the Lord Governor. He brought the letters of the Lord Governor to this King, which I speak of above, and which

were given to the King of Cota. By this Portuguese I sent a necklace to get with it a topaz which they told me that a certain Antonio Saraiva would sell.

He did not buy it nor did he send me a message about it or the other articles which I had entrusted to him; but some friends of mine wrote to me from Cota that he had returned from India and that he was on the road to go to Choromandell without reminding them to send a message to me. As for the letters which he had brought from India, he gave them to Manoell Roiz Coutinho. At the time I found it out, Manoell Roiz had gone to India. Belchior Botelho was Guarda Mor. I wrote to him from here to say that that man had in his possession some articles of mine, and requesting him to be so kind as to recover them from him so that they should not be lost. He was kind enough to recover some of them which he still had, about which I have had news sent me from where they are.

Belchior Botelho wrote to me by a letter of his which I have here, that he had recovered that necklace and an escritorio of black wood of Mocambique and a large lock but that he had found no more, and that he would forward them to me when I sent a safe person to whom he should entrust them. I sent from here a Brahmin who is going now with the message from the King to Choromandell, with a letter of mine and my authority that I wanted him to entrust the necklace and the escritorio and the lock to him.

He took the authority and the letters and sent me the lock with a message that he had sold the necklace; no further news has come.

I wrote to the Senhor Duarte Teixeira to be so kind as to ask for the collar and escritorio from Belchior Botelho and to take care of them for me. He sent word to say that Belchior Botelho had already given him the escritorio on my message, and that he had sold the collar

and that he would do what he could in the matter, but that it was not possible to send a summons or sue him at law; nor do I desire that, nor is the matter important enough for a person like him to do so, but only what he can easily effect, and thus I wrote to him.

If Belchior Botelho entirely neglects to do this, your Worship should bid him give me what is mine, if it is just. As to his saying that he sold it, I know nothing; because neither when I sent it from here did I direct that it should be sold, but only pledged for the topaz. If the Senhor Duarte Teixeira is not able to recover that from him by friendly means, your Worship should see to it for me so that justice might be done.

I told the King of the bell from Mallaca which your Worship has to send to him. He said that you should open the road for him and for the bell to be able to come. There is nothing more to tell your Worship till I see the message and when it comes I shall do what your Worship directs. We are near to doing great things in this Camde; your Worship should labour in that which is now in your hand.

May the Lord God be with all in this Camde.

Your Worship's Servant

Nuno Alvarez Pereira.

For the Senhor Ouvidor and Guarda Mor, my Senhor.

Coleção de São Lourenço, Tom. III ff. 338—339.

DOCUMENT 6

Frey Joham de Villa de Conde to the Governor.

Senhor,

Twelve days after leaving that city, we reached this Ceilão. The King according to his custom received your Ambassador with distinction, and told him to go and rest, and he sent to speak to him three days later. The ambassador carried out his duties towards the King very well and fully in accordance with your Lordship's letter, which came as it were from a servant of God. The King listened attentively as it was read, for it was well suited for the purpose. We remained much disappointed and dissatisfied with two letters which the ambassador brought, for we thought that they were from the King, whereas both were from the Queen. This negligence was serious for it put our King in the background. For the love of God send one, if it can come in time, for we are afraid that this King may consider everything of no importance, through not seeing the letter from our King.

The Ambassador addressed him on the friendship of our King and of the Portuguese and told him that he should become a Christian; he replied that he would always be faithful to our King, but as to his religion, he would never abandon that. Such is his usual answer, as the Padre Frei Antonio will tell you that he has often given the same reply to him, and to me as well.

The Ambassador answered that, granted he had no wish to turn Christian, yet he should not take the property of those who were converted, nor should he acquiesce in his people doing so. He retorted that he did no such thing. The ambassador explained that since his arrival, the Christians had come to him with complaints

of the beatings and other acts of ill treatment to which they were exposed. The King answered that he had no knowledge of this.

The conversation was too long to permit of my setting it out in writing. The King continues a heathen, just as he was before; he allows the Christians to be badly treated, for he does not care for them, as will be explained to you in greater detail by the Padre Frei Antonio, on whom I rely in everything; for he has ample experience of the whole country, and is full of zeal, and understands affairs. He is coming there to convey to your Lordship the results of his experience, and at the same time to report a new incident which has now supervened: it is that the King of Camde wrote to the Ouvidor and to an honoured individual who lives here, to the effect that he along with his son were willing to become Christian, if they would assist him against this King's brother who is at war with him.

If the King (of Camde) turns Christian, to my thinking there can be no better road for the conversion of all the Kings and people of this country to our faith; because it is not doing a wrong to anyone, whereas if he were supported by us, everyone would be greatly annoyed.

The Padre will give your Lordship a more detailed account.

The love of the Lord God helps and favours us; for besides God we have no other help. May God in his love speedily grant to you that which he desires for his service.

From Ceilão, fourth of October.

Your Lordship's unworthy preacher

Frei Joham de Villa de Cõde.

DOCUMENT 7

Antonio Ferreira to the Governor.

Senhor,

The Padre Frey Antonio is going there; he with his great virtue and long experience of this country, makes up for the shortcomings of what I can communicate to your Lordship after my brief residence. Yet I am certain that he is satisfied with the arrangements. Perchance it is the services rendered to this King which are the reason for his hardening his heart, and this was aggravated by the ill-will which, his people assert, we bear towards him. As the result of the little confidence which he now has in us, and of the great friendship and sympathy which he has with his brother, he stands thus, Senhor, that when we render him a service, it now seems that he does us a favour, when we are on friendly terms. They kept working on him and made him nervous that your coming here was quite certain. May it please our Lord that before this he will lead him to the true realisation by the path which is now open.

According to what I am learning here from near at hand, the reason why this King persists in his friendship with his brother, is because they assured him that your Lordship would make him do what, please God, you will make him do speedily; and because the safety of these Kings depends on the mountains of Camdiaa, which are situated inland and with no sea port, these they are now seeking to acquire by war, which they have been waging now for a long time. Since recently this King of Camdiaa is asking for the friendship of the King our Lord and he now says that he is willing to become a Christian, as your Lordship will see in those letters of Duarte Teixeira. I do not believe, Senhor, that he will

do what he says, but I do believe that if your Lordship will help Camdiaa, these Kings, the brothers, will be caught in the middle, and constrained of necessity to do what your Lordship desires.

Senhor, I will labour for Camdiaa to face the war, with much persuasion and large hopes that your Lordship will favour it; because, Senhor, even if nothing results from this tangle except that they will be much less, it will be well for your Lordship to decide on what is the best course. The object of the King of Camdea is to have Portuguese to defend him; and now it is even possible that he will do what he says. One cannot send him a message by sea except through Batecalou, which does not belong to him; and by land the risk incurred is great.

We, Senhor, were well received, and the King was somewhat soothed in mind. The Ambassador had two interviews with him; at the first the talk was about his salvation; at the second, business was already discussed. And in this he showed himself so tactful and discreet, that your Lordship can well employ him in some other affair of moment. The King paid great attention to what he said: it is likely that he will come to some desirable conclusion. The Padre Frey Joam, the Guardian, has knowledge of all the facts. I, my Lord, do not know what stage these matters have reached, and how they are progressing; well, as I hope.

I have no powder for the espingarda or the bombarda though I have some artillery. I would kiss your Lordship's hands, to keep me supplied in this respect as seems good to you; for, my Lord, whether I see service or not, bullets and powder are essential.

I would remind your Lordship, since you have given me the mercê of a voyage to Choromandell, not to forget to have it confirmed by His Highness; because, my Lord, the profits of this country, to my thinking, are in an

evil case for one who has to do what your Lordship expects from me and what I desire. May it please our Lord to prolong the life and Estate of your Lordship to many years of happiness. I kiss your Lordship's hands.

From this Island of Ceyllam, the fifth of October
1545.

Your Lordship's

Antonio Ferreira.

Col. de São Lourenço, T. III. ff. 326—326 v.

DOCUMENT 8

Duarte Teixeira to the Governor.

My Illustrious Lord,

The satisfaction which my soul received on hearing that your Lordship was in India as Governor, perhaps I should not feel as I am far from your notice; but as to what I say, I take God to witness that I do not say it to flatter you, nor that you should give me any *merçê* from the King our Lord; if you did give me such it will, in view of my age, be for so short a period that it will be more a loan than a *merçê*. I only say this as I see this country, which has cost so much Portuguese blood, already in the depths, because it has neither of the two great virtues which are found in your Lordship, and which our God laid down in his commandments; these are, not to covet and not to commit adultery, matters which throughout this country, have a great hold; and as these are already far removed from your Lordship, it pleased God our Lord to place his hand on your Lordship's heart, to send you here to set in order and direct aright this country. This is in order to extend his religion, which Saint Thome and Saint Paulo in the course of their labours, did not finish establishing. The which you will accomplish with a renown eternal in its fame in this world and with glory in the next; and this is what neither cloves nor cinnamon will provide.

As for myself I submit to your Lordship that I am named Duarte Teixeira, and that for forty years and more I am serving the Kings of Portugal in Africa, where I was born, and in the straits of Gibraltar, and in the expedition to Turkey with the Conde Priol, and also in this country. And in this service in Africa, my father died

a prisoner at Fez. Of this there were good witnesses, the souls of the ancestors of the Lady Dona Leonor your wife. And for my sins I came to reach Ceilão at the time of the Viceroy Dom Guarcia, who is in glory. Of this your Lordship will be reminded, if your memory is taken back to it, because over my coming here I received help from him. And because Antonio Pereira bought the office of Veador da Fazenda which I then held, I was deprived thereof. Over this employment I obtained a perdão which now they brought to me here. I am attempting to recover one of which Madune Pandar, the King's brother, robbed me, and against him I hold a judgment. In that matter up till now I have effected nothing, for I have no assistance, and the country does not agree to help; for those who come here and should help me, are very busy with their own profits and give little to Teixeira, who has no bread. And so I am waiting for help from God our Lord and from your Lordship, who will cause me to have what is mine, since I have such need thereof. On this point I say no more.

Senhor, it appears right to give your Lordship an account of what is taking place in this country, even though I do it with considerable hesitation; for I realise my lack of skill and that I have to describe things to one who is a great Lord, and so full of wisdom, and the matters which have reached my hands are of weight. It seems to me superfluous to write on the good and the evil of this country, since that is known to you; but only of the change which the King and the Lords thereof have undergone. Of a verity, one who saw them then and who sees them now, cannot say or guess at the reason of such a change, if it be the incident of the death of Juguo and the brothers who became Christians there with many other people who have also become Christians there, or the vexatious applications which those who are in office here, were and are pressing on him. These people are

very much offended and they show it in their talk and attitude and in every other relation which we used to have with them from the beginning.

All their object and anxiety is to make themselves secure in the serra where they already have the greater portion of their property, and for this purpose all those who can join together are forming a league, and the King and his brother have created such a bond that I do not know who save the Lord our God can destroy it. Both are determined to occupy Camde and make themselves secure there, for it is there they consider themselves safe from being deprived of their country, in case they lose the Coast. This they think cannot be held for many days by the Portuguese, while on the serra they have everything they need, for it is well stored with provisions.

This, Senhor, is their plan, according to what they let us understand. Therefore they show us a face which is little pleasant, and sufficient displeasure against the Portuguese, and ill-treatment of the Christians, so that now there is not anyone who does not turn renegade and throw away the carapuces which are the token by which they are known.

Senhor, the King of Camde has written letters here to Francisco Alvarez the Ouvidor, who was here, and to me, through the hand of a certain Nuno Alvarez Pereira who is there; they are signed by the said King and his son. In these he certifies that they are anxious to become Christians and he further says that the same is desired by a king of certain Seven Corlas, a mancebo related to those moços. These Corlas are districts which are not obedient to the King of Ceilam nor to his brother, but only to the one who gives them fanams. They are situated between Camde and the territories of the King and his brother, a matter ordained by God our Lord that by these idolators the others are destroyed, and for this purpose they ask for help in men. The

truth, my Lord, is that the King of Camde has lately been asking the Governor Martin Afonço, for a Factor, and saying that he would pay pareas to the King our Lord. Martin Afonço was sending there a certain Amaro Mendez for that purpose, but this was not completed as the men did not come. Perchance it would be through their untruths, which is the habit of everyone, or through our avarice. This I say to your Lordship, as I know that they must report to you that it happened as I state. Nevertheless, Senhor, as to what they are requesting now, which is that they will turn Christian, that is what must be tested.

Finally, with their truths or falsehoods, it should not be possible to say that there was fault in not carrying out this wonderful work and service of God as they request. Apart from the work which can be done among them he will effect this also among them, that they will see he has taken the mountain from them, on which they base their hopes; and when they see themselves lost, as in truth they will be, both the one and the other will turn and enter this fold of the Faith of Christ.

And since the padre Frey Antonio is going there to give you an account of what has occurred with this King and of what he has learned of the country—and he is sufficiently weary of their falsehoods— He is taking there the letters and the writing which (the King) wrote to me; in view of these, Senhor, it is possible to take sound counsel as to what should be done regarding Camde and also regarding those moços who are there; on them the country keeps an anxious eye, and the King is full of suspicion that they will get the benefit which they obtain from us by turning Christian.

Your Lordship need not think that even if they saw them on this shore, the people of the country would go to them, except when they saw them planted there with the power to do hurt to those who should oppose them.

I state this to your Lordship because I know it to be so, for this people is an evil and wicked one. If they saw them established in Jafanapatão, all the country would flock there and become Christian after the good example which they would receive therefrom, and for the benefits which they hope can be obtained thereby.

In this matter I have said to your Lordship already more than is my duty. There is going there one who will tell this to you better. Also, Senhor, Duarte Barbudo will not delay long. He is a shrewd man and will accordingly convey his opinion of the King and country, and will inform you as to what you ought to do with knowledge of the truth. Because, from what passed with the King on the two occasions at which I was present, I believe he is not playing false with his words, and for my part, my Lord, I think that if someone comes here and stays here, he will spur on the King. He will be an advantage and your Lordship knows very well to select.

May God our Lord prolong the days of your life and increase your Estate as is desired by your Lordship and as it pleases our Lord.

Done in Ceilão, this fifth of October 1545.

Your Lordship's Servant

Duarte Teixeira.

For the Lord Governor, my Senhor.

Col. de São Lourenço, Tom. III. ff. 328—330.

DOCUMENT 9

Francisco Alvares to the Governor.

Senhor,

Your Lordship's coming now is very good for the service of the Lord God, the increase of the estate of the King our Lord, and of yourself. I write this short letter to your Lordship giving you some small account of what is taking place in this country, as I am on the road to there, as I was commanded by him by his instructions.

At the time that Duarte Barbudo and Antonio Ferreira, the Guarda Mor, arrived here, I was at a port of this Island six leagues from Cotta, where I was engaged in getting padas placed on the sea to convey the cinnamon; for the Portuguese who were in charge of the transport, wrote to me that it was necessary for me to go in person for the work, because these padas were launched with great toil, and more by force than of their free will, as it is a service they render the King without any pay. My coming proved of much advantage, for everything was carried out very well and without any obstacle, for which reason this work was completed with greater speed than before.

There I found ill-treatment being inflicted by the people of Madunne Pandar, King of Ceitavaqua. They beat there a Portuguese and his moço, of those engaged in the transport of cinnamon, and they treated them badly without cause, and this they did when they liked, without their being able to offer resistance, the reason being that he is more feared in this country than the rightful King of Ceilão, who, I assure your Lordship, has no more of Kingship than the name, while it is Madunne who is obeyed. At the present time these are

great friends; I do not think this can last longer than the duration of the war with Camde, which he is waging along with Madunne. At times he treats Cande ill; both are opposed to it and they help each other with men and money against Cande.

As soon as the cinnamon ships arrived the King ordered me to be summoned immediately and asked me if I had any news, as they told him that the Princes were come, to be placed on the land by force.

I replied that they were not come, but only an ambassador and Guarda Mor; I explained who they were and that he should receive them well and render them great honour, for by doing so he would give your Lordship much satisfaction, and that he should have no anxiety about anything, because he who owed nothing need fear nothing.

He answered that Portuguese were coming and speaking to him by night and telling him many things which put him into great confusion. I pointed out how already at times I had told him that he must have two things: primarily he should not cause nor permit anyone to cause, any oppression to the Christians of the country, but should favour them and employ them in his service, as his subjects, which they were, and just as he used to employ them before. The second was that he should carry out his obligation of friendship in the matter of the pareas for which he was liable: that if this were carried out well and faithfully, he need not have any fear: that he might take it from me as certain that the Portuguese who were coming to him by night with such cunning, would not do so except with the hope of getting some advantage out of him: that he should keep in his recollection the past, and the truthfulness with which they always treated him and with this he could make the future secure. The road lay open for a much firmer friendship, if he so desired. He could take it from me that this and no other matter, was assuredly the fact.

He received the ambassador well and with many rejoicings and entertained him lavishly. As for the Guarda Mor, I do not know to what extent he is pleased with him, because he is disposed to ask for justice. He showed himself much pleased with it. He gave it great praise. I assure your Lordship that it is very necessary in this land, and also jurisdiction. For at the time of my arrival here I found matters very wrong in this respect and a lack of discipline, for which reason the King and his people were displeased, and it is certain that I am leaving it very different from what I found. Regarding this matter I entreat your Lordship to inform yourself from persons above suspicion, if you will do me the favour.

As I thought it very objectionable that people should speak to the King by night without authority, for at such a time they cannot speak of virtues, I tried to find out who they were. And because the Queen is showing herself very friendly to us, on account of those princes who are there, and always pays me great honour and long visits, and gives me to understand that she is almost becoming a Christian, I sent and begged her to be pleased to order to find out through her women and people in whom she had confidence, who the Portuguese were who went to speak with the King by night. She sent to tell me that she would take great trouble over this, as to her too it seemed a bad matter. Some days later a woman of hers in whom she had great confidence, came to the house of a certain Miguel Fernandez, a married man and a person of position, and told him and his wife that a certain Amtão Saraiva, whom I brought from there as my clerk, and another, a kinsman of his, named Antonio Saraiva, who is married here and has lived in this country a long time and knows the language, were the men who went to speak to the King by night. And since, according to popular talk, both the one and

the other are people of little virtue, I was unwilling to interfere in the business at all, because of the Queen, for there is much unpleasantness between her and the King on account of these young men. And since I had information that the clerk did not perform his duties well and faithfully, I ordered a record to be made; regarding those matters of which I was so informed, in which he had acted wrong, I shall hold a secret inquiry from him. I found him well understood by her; I am keeping him under arrest in irons, in order to take him there with the charges against him.

I wrote to the King of Cande after coming to this country, and visited him for some days at the instance of the late Governor, in order to learn what was necessary, in view of the news which I had from a Portuguese who ~~was~~ there with the King; he is named Nuno Alvares Pereira, and said he was a person of position. The King was greatly pleased with my visit and wrote to me a letter in Portuguese signed by himself and by the Prince his son, which I am forwarding there to your Lordship along with this. From that you will see his decision, for in every respect he speaks there to the same purport as Nuno Alvares Pereira also has written to me. I in turn wrote holding out great hopes to him. I am waiting for a reply; his letters are delayed for so long a time, owing to the roads being occupied with this war of Madune, for without the war the road is of five or six days, and today people come at great risk.

Your Lordship can see the letter, and if you think proper you should take action in the matter with all speed. There is nothing more to write to you at present regarding the business on which Duarte Barbudo has come. So far no decision has been reached, for there has not yet been time. The King is very deliberate in dealing

with business. Duarte Barbudo will report what occurs to your Lordship. May the Lord God increase the days of your life and your Estate, in his service.

From Ceilão, this sixth day of October 1545.

Francisco Alvaris.

For his Lordship the Governor, from the Ouvidor Francisco Alvares, from Ceilão.

Col. de São Lourenço, Tom III, ff. 332—333 v.

DOCUMENT 10

Nuno Alvares Pereira to the Governor.

Senhor,

When I was at Negumbo I learnt of the desire which this King had for the friendship of the King our Lord, and that he was unable to secure this as he had no one to arrange the matter. I wrote to him that if he were anxious, as they said, I would place his wishes before his Lordship the Governor, our Captain Major. As soon as ever he received my message, he sent his men in search of me. It was inconvenient that he should bring me here, and not another.

I came some time in July 1542, and the following August he sent his ambassadors with his ollas of gold as is his custom, and letters from me, to the Senhor Martin Afonso de Sousa, the late Governador. He also sent a jewel, which was a ring with one large catseye and four small, as a token, and in his ollas and my letters will appear what he desires, because he has never changed from that.

Some time in February 1543 there came here Meles Vam Dirsque, a Fleming, who was married at Coulão and with him a Topaz who had come as topaz of the Factory. They gave me letters for the King and for myself, to the effect that Miguell Ferreira and Amaro Mendez were at Neguapatam, and would be at Triconá malle on the 15th of March with all the reply the King had sent to ask for. The King's satisfaction at this was so great that he immediately sent a Captain with 2000 men to go with me in search of the Factor.

We were already on the road when there arrived Gaspar Carvalho and one of the ambassadors with the news that

Miguell Ferreira and Amaro Mendez were at Triconamalle, and Gaspar Carvalho brought a letter from the Lord Martin Afonso for the King, and another for me. In consequence I stopped from my journey and delayed here one day. They told us there were seventy or eighty Portuguese with the Factor at Tricanamalle.

We continued our journey and when we were four day's distance from here, a Bramene who was coming from Tricanamalle, met us. He told us there would be twenty or twenty five Portuguese there, and no more; and it was so, because the others had sent here some mutineers who there started for India, while some went to Neguapatam; in consequence of this we halted in the middle of our journey for ten days.

Messages came and went to and from the ladrão that the land should rise up against the Captain who accompanied me, without their allowing any communication of mine to go through to Miguell Ferreira or their consenting to take one to him. From there I sent word to Meles and Guaspar Carvalho above mentioned so that the King might know what the delay was.

My messengers started, when I received word from Myguell Ferreira through a Topaz, to the effect that if I did not come to him within three days from then, he would not wait longer.

I begged the Captain for people to go with me and to carry the baggage if the Factor decided to come. He gave me 30 or 40 men at once, and he was going to send 300 after me. These hardly started on the road, and he did not send any more. I proceeded with those men, fearful of the incidents to which I was so near.

I reached Tricanamalle and reported to Miguell Ferreira and Amaro Mendez what was happening, and how I had sent those men to the King and how the people had not come because the Portuguese were not so many as had first been stated.

The ladrão of that country had a man whom the Captain sent with me for two days, with a message to Miguell Ferreira and Amaro Mendez, and there was also with him one of the ambassadors who knows to speak Portuguese. At the end of that time they came to see Miguell Ferreira and delivered their message. It was to the effect that if they wished to go to Cande, they should do so, and if they were hoping that the Captain would come there, they swore to him on behalf of the King and the Queen and their son that neither the Captain nor the King who should come, will arrive in that country.

Miguell Ferreira asked me what it was that was written. I told him that those were evil men and untruthful, and said what they did in the interest of the ladrão: that we should wait five or six days, as those who were coming here with the message could not delay longer. The King had sent them here with 500 men to go straight to Tricanamall, as they will say.

They were not willing to wait longer than two days, declaring that they did not have provisions. When I left the Captain there remained with him 300 oxen laden with rice, and it was through fear they did not stop. I told them, as they were unwilling to wait, that it seemed good to me that we should go to Jafanapatam, and they should send a message to the King to see if he would allow me passage through his territory to go and find out the truth of this.

They approved of this; the King allowed me passage; I reached the territory of Madune. They would not allow me to pass through there and took me to Seitavaca, where Madune detained me four or five days. We discussed many matters which I have written to the Lord Martin Affonço regarding his friendship and the tribute which he was willing to render to the King our Lord, as it seemed to him that he was already a friend. I was not willing to fail to return here or to accept any-

thing of his. I only write to you what I arranged with him so far as concerned friendship. When this king should be unwilling to comply, then I shall write further about Tricanamall what he directed me to do.

And as this King saw that his affairs were not accomplished, he will see his friendship with him changed to enmity, so that instead of being satisfied with gifts, he would want the country, as he thinks he will have everything, and he is near to it by the favour and help of his brother, who was the chief obstacle this King encountered to prevent his already having a Factory and establishing friendship. If your Lordship does not agree, he stands very near being undone, and Madunne has won. If he comes, it will be a serious task to drive him out, for the country is very rugged and there are not more than four or five passos, and Madunne has much artillery, and this land is well off.

As soon as this King learnt that I was gone to the territory of Madunne, he forthwith sent his men in search of me. He also sent in search of the Portuguese who had come there and had already left; and a man of his with a message to Miguell Ferrreira and Amaro Mendez. They went by way of Galla, and his men who had returned from Trycanamalle did not tell him that the Portuguese were annoyed, but that they were gone to look for men and provisions and would come back soon. I came here from Seitavaca on the 15th of July of the said year, and one of the Portuguese who had come by way of Galla and his man who had taken the oath at Tricanamalle on his behalf, as I mention elsewhere, arrived on the 20th of the month. The King at once gave orders to put that man to death, and the other man of his captain whom he sent with me to Tricanamalle, as the King did not know of what they had sworn and stated, until my arrival. I begged there that His Highness would do me the kindness of not doing them any harm till the

arrival of the Portuguese and then he would know the truth in greater detail; and in this he obliged me.

Some time in the said month the King sent a Portuguese whom I brought for the purpose, for I thought that those whom he had sent there, as mentioned above, would be already gone. He travelled by way of Matecalau with considerable fear, with olas from the King and letters from me: the King requesting them to come and finish this matter, and I giving the Senhor Martin Afonso the explanation of why it was not finished, in greater detail than I set out here. He saw the letters in the Baixos, and asked for the man who had brought them. Amaro Mendez told him that he had already sent him here.

He arrived here some time in November of the said year, with his letters and a message for the King and for me, stating that for the whole of January he would be at Tricanamall, even though to do this he should beg his friends to provide the funds, since the King could not send them owing to the dangers of the road: he would be glad if it were possible to send the man back with a message before he himself arrived.

At the end of the said month he returned with ollas from the King and letters from me, in which he earnestly entreated him to come and finish this matter. He also sent a bracelet of gold and precious stones as a token of his sincerity, and the bracelet was for the Senhor Martin Afonso. The said man returned some time in January 1544 to Quota with letters from the Senhor Martin Afonso for the King and for me, and also letters from Amaro Mendez. He was not able to get through owing to Madunne, who shortly before had ordered the execution of a Mistico, a son of Lazaro Martinz who was married at Coulam, and a moço of mine who had come with letters and a message for me. For this reason he did not venture to come, and handed the letters to Ma-

nuell Roiz Coutinho, who at the time was Guarda Mor of the King of Cota, that he might dispatch them. Manuell Roiz gave them to a man of the King of Cota who was coming there, as he wrote to me in another letter in which he asked me for a reply to them. The man said there that the letters were taken from him by the King of Cotta and for this reason he did not bring them.

Some time in July of the said year the King sent from here the ambassador and a man of his with his olas and letters from me to Miguell Ferreira and to find out if Amaro Mendez was at Choromandell and also to learn the reason why the matter of the Factory and friendship was not completed. They found Amaro Mendez at Sam Tome. He told them that he was ready if the King would send the funds for his expences: that by the road by which they came the money also could come.

The King would have sent it if he did not have here so great opposition to it, and the chief was the counsels of the King of Cota, which till a few days before he had with him, under the cloak of friendship, declaring that if he wished to be robbed like he himself, he should send his money to the Portuguese as he had done so many times: that he sent it to them and asked for men to destroy Madunne and every one took from him but was not willing to send him the men; that they would not come except to rob him, and various other matters which the ambassador will tell your Lordshp.

On the second of October of the above mentioned year they came here with letters and a message from Amaro Mendez and Miguell Ferreira. I asked the King for the money to send them; he gave me 10,000 chacrans, and two precious stones weighing over three calamjas, good stones and of a good kind, as the people here saw, who examined them before I sealed them. As for the fears which the King of Cota had sent to instill into him, I told the King that the money and gems were not at his risk

for any longer time than till they were in the custody of Miguell Ferreira or Amaro Mendez or Antonio Mendez or some Captain of the King of Portugall: as soon as they were delivered into the hands of any one of these servants, the risk was mine.

On the 5th of November of the said year he sent from here the 10,000 chacrans, and the two stones, with his own men, as the Portuguese was ill, by way of Jafanapatam, as they went through there previously and returned. As soon as they were there, his man sent the letters and olas which he carried to Miguell Ferreira, for they told him that Amaro Mendez was gone to India; and he sent them with a certain Francisco Luis who went with him from here. This man told me that he was a servant of the Lord Governor, your Lordship's father, and of this he gave me proofs, because I was born not very far from his house.

As the King's men remained with the money and they had to come, they sent word by him that the King was not willing to give them passage. Two men who went with Francisco Luis when he took the letters returned and brought for them to embark, a catamaran which Antonio Mendez sent on behalf of Miguell Ferreira, together with an olla for the King. As soon as he saw it he sent word to those men that they might go back to Neguapatam. He took from them all they brought and sent them back empty handed to this King, telling him that if he should send any further message by that way to the Portuguese, all who brought it would die for that. In this fashion they arrived here some time in March 1545, without any other message.

On the third of April of the year aforesaid the King sent from here a Bramene and a Guzaratee with his olas and my letters, in which the King begged and requested Miguell Ferreira to take action through him as if he were there in person, to complete this matter of his

friendship and the Factory, and that he should spend what was necessary for the expences, since he was not able to send it; and that as soon as they came here he would pay it, as will appear in his ollas which he sent him for the purpose.

With this Bramene I sent a letter for Duarte Teixeira, as it appeared to me that he had to embark for Cota. In that I gave him an account of certain matters which referred to the Christians who might be made here, and how this King told me that he was going to be one. And the reason the Lord God knows. I also touched in this on the matters of Miguell Ferreira, but not at such length. Up till now we have received no message from the Bramene; of his crossing to Choromandell I am aware, because a man whom he took in his ship, wrote to me.

I am giving this account to your Lordship that you may know that if this King did not have a desire for the friendship of the King our Lord, he would not send so many messages regarding that, and so persistently, as would appear in all those which he has sent. It would seem he was asking and always is asking for a Factory at Tricanamall, and a permanent Factor, though he lives thirty leagues inland across the country, and he hears of the outbreaks which happen daily between the Factors of Cota and the King. He offers each year for the King our Lord fifteen elephants with tusks and 300 oars of beech for the galleys and other promises which will appear in the letters which he has written there. And he will pay the Factor and his clerks, by giving them each year their Ordenados in the same manner as is done with the Factor and clerk at Cota. He will also pay further the twenty men who are in his company, their soldo and mantimento just as they receive from the King our Lord.

This which he has always asked for he is still requesting, and he is further asking and requesting from your Lord-

ship that there should be given our religion and baptism to him and to his son and household and to all the others who desire to receive them. These will be many, if your Lordship comes.

Owing to this which they suspect about him, Madunne and his brother are pressing him with vigour in the war. If we were near, his son would be with your Lordship. Since we do not have him there is danger of losing everything if Madunne come in, owing to his popularity, and he will be able to make himself very strong here, as I say above. In view of this urgency your Lordship will see the matter does not admit of delay.

He is sending to apply to the Ambassador and Guarda Mor, whom your Lordship is sending to the King of Cota, that they should take such trouble as is possible for them, to end the war; and if they are not able to bring this about with the King of Cota, then they would lose everything by not seeing him a friend, much more a Christian; that they should send him 30 or 40 men, who have the road open for their coming; and with these he will be able to hold out till your Lordship comes to a decision on that subject.

The Ambassador will convey to your Lordship by word of mouth other matters as well, which the King is charging him with, and he is bringing a Commission for the purpose. He is writing his ola brief of credence, drawn up by his son and signed by him, in his own Chingalla language, for he does not entrust this matter to any of his people; as he is still in doubt if this which he requests will be accomplished, he directed me that this should be written on his account to your Lordship, signed also by him, that thus and in the manner which I mention here, he will perform and accomplish, and everything else which the Ambassador conveys in his Regimento.

Thus done by me and signed by the King.

Our Lord God increase the life and estate of
your Lordship.

At this Cande, the 13th of October 1545.

(In Sinhalese)

Sri
The King.

Your Lordship's servant

Nuno Alvarez Pereira.

For the Lord Governor, my Senhor.

Col. de São Lourenço, Tom. III; ff. 335—337 v.

DOCUMENT 11

The Prince Dom João to the Queen Dona Catherina.

Senhora,

Last year I gave your Highness an account of myself; not always to do so, especially on the part of the helpless such as I am, would display a lack of prudence. I am convinced that my doing so will be a great pleasure to your Highness, and with this knowledge I remain quite assured that, as I have your Highness' support, my interests will be well looked after there. I rely on the Lord God and your Highness for the King my Lord dealing with me in the manner I request from him, and fulfilling the service of God and of himself.

After I wrote to your Highness last year, another and younger brother of mine, as well as many honoured people, joined me, and already, praise be to our Lord, they are all Christians. My mother is waiting for me so as to become a Christian herself when I come, and this ought to be a source of great satisfaction to your Highness in the spread of our holy Catholic faith, for if she is converted the whole Island will be the same, and the Lord God will be glorified.

I am requesting certain matters from the King my Lord; I beg your Highness to take some little interest in reminding him, since the work is his. If your Highness have the good will, I shall provide the labour, and with your help I hope in God that even through my intervention there is going to be a great increase in the Seignories of the King my Lord, and in the Christianity. This I do not deserve, and he accomplishes it and ordains it through his infinite mercy and secret wisdom, that through one so full of sins he wills to show his great power, and so many infinite miracles, as he showed at

the death of my brother, whom God forgive: how he opened a cross on the ground, and in the sky when they burnt his body, and the earth trembled, and various other matters which I leave to the Padre Frey Pedro, who was Custodio here, who is devoting attention to this matter to relate them to your Highness.

I am sending a Memorial to the King my Lord; I shall kiss your Highness' hands that you should be pleased to see it, and through it press my affairs. I further am writing to the King my Lord regarding Andre de Souza, my godfather. May your Highness assist me there with the King my Lord, that he should do him some great merçe, for I have no power to be able to pay him what I owe him; because from the day that I became a Christian up till today, I and my brother and all my people are staying at his house, and all our expences are at his cost, owing to which he is heavily in debt. And he has provided us with doctrine and learning as is suitable to our persons; wherefore he deserves a great reward from God and your Highness.

May God increase the days of your Highness' life and your royal Estate for many years.

From this Goa, this 15th of October 1545.

Dom João.

Gaveta 20. Maço 7. Doc. 28.

DOCUMENT 12

The King of Ceilão to the Governor.

The King of Ceylão.

The Magnifico Dom João de Castro, of the Council of the King my Lord, his Captain General and Governor of India.

I, the King of Ceilão, make known to you that for the great friendship which his Highness has always borne towards me, he was pleased in the interests of his service to send me the Regulations which he decreed, and I and my people were pleased therewith and I ordered them to be observed as they were matters which were observed in ancient times. But I find that in complying with them as his Highness commands, the Christians of this my country are not going to be satisfied with them; wherefore I request you, when I go or send and give an order to them, if anyone comes or is sent to you to say the contrary, not to believe him: and that you should be pleased and should direct that they be observed as they stand, because they come from his Highness. What I ask from you regarding this is in reason.

As to what they tell you, that I do not like their becoming Christians, the reason is this, that they do not become Christians except when they kill another or rob him of his property or commit other offences of this nature which affect my crown, and in their fear they become Christians; and after they become that they are unwilling to pay me my direitos and the usual foros, in consequence of which I am not so satisfied with their becoming Christians. And those with whom I am pleased are those who become such through recognising the faith, and they pay me my direitos and foros. For this reason

I would desire that when any man of mine is going to become a Christian, they should keep him for nine days, and when they know that he is not going to do so for any offence, but only through love of God, then they should make him such; with this I shall be very satisfied. And if he has committed any offences, where I know that for this reason he is becoming a Christian, give orders that justice should be inflicted on him according to his offences after his conversion.

I also request you to give orders that no Christian should enjoy any honour without my permission, because they are not satisfied with that; and let me see that they are only making converts but not taking my people away from me.

You must also believe and know that many become Christians at a time when they are in such a state as to expect death in two or three days. This is in order that their kinsmen might secure their property which they own; wherefore I am not pleased with this. I shall be glad if when they are Christians they will serve me in the same manner as they did before. And if any man of mine ventures to do them hurt and complaint is made to me by the Guarda Mor, I shall punish him.

Wherefore I request you to give this order to the Factors to cause this to be done for me; because everything which is done for me is in the interest of the King my Lord; and if you carry this out as I state here, I am very content with their making them Christians. But if you do not make such orders regarding that matter, I and my people are not satisfied with their becoming such and his Highness will not be served as is proper, in consequence of which they will go and tell you that I do not like them to become Christians.

When my ambassador returned from the Reyno his Highness sent me the Frades. I was much pleased with them and rendered them such honour as is reason-

able, and immediately set aside money for them for their maintenance and gave it to the padre Guardião; and as he said he could not take it, I gave it to Manuel Roiz Coutynho, who was Guarda Mor at the time. He also refused, and a certain Belchior Roiz, who is married here. The which money I offered them many times, and none of them was willing to accept it from me, and this went on for five or six months.

And the padre Guardião grew annoyed with me without cause, and left without speaking to me. I now greatly desire this to be done as I request you, and that I and my people should live in harmony with these Christians, if what I ask from you is carried out, I give immediate orders to build a Church for them, and I shall entertain them as is proper. With regard to the lands given as merces, I wish to explain to you their nature. From ancient times up till now former Kings used to give these lands to whom they liked; and if while holding these lands the tenants fell ill of any disease, or were crippled, or grew aged and incapable of coming to watch at their palaces, or of going out to war, or were disobedient in any respect, it was the case that it was competent for them to take them away from such men; and this I am unable to do when they are Christians, as I do not venture even to speak to them, for I have no authority over them. For this reason I take away from them the lands as soon as they become Christians.

As for those two mançebos who became Christians here, and at present are there, the officials who were here can tell your Lordship of their faults, the which I have already written to the late Governor. From him also it is possible to know if this is true, and he is willing to say it.

Wherefore I request you, since I am a Vassal of the King my Lord, that you should not send them to me to this country; for if they come, his service will not

be carried out as I desire. So long as they do not come you can do as you like: if you are willing to forbid their coming, I shall be greatly pleased; if not, the effect will be felt in his Highness' Service.

And as to the answer which your ambassador gave me, my reply is that by the services which I have rendered to his Highness and my desire always to render them, I have been his loyal Vassal and friend and I lent to him my money at a time that he needed it, and this for no other reason save my anxiety that our friendship should be strengthened; and this I desired so greatly that I decided to send him an ambassador, for they told me that former Governors were so busily occupied that they did not bring my services to his notice. I therefore sent one in order that his Highness might furnish me with Regulations for my country and sea ports and that the Christians should serve me as before; it was for this purpose I sent my ambassador there, and not to make myself a Christian. Never did such a thought enter my mind and a Christian I cannot be. Of this a good witness is Duarte Teixeira de Macedo, who is now in the Reyno; because he prepared for me the documents for the purpose, as he can tell his Highness; and now here I questioned Duarte Teixeira—for he was Factor here — in the presence of the Ambassador Duarte Barbudo, and he replied that he knew of no such suggestion. This you can verify from your Ambassador, for you must believe that I do not have more than one single word and one single purpose.

No one, alike great as small, calls anyone 'father' save his own; and I am unable to believe in another God but only in my own, and I am not going to cease to be the Vassal of the King my Lord so long as he favours me and is pleased therewith. As to the order I gave in regard to the property of the Christians, I made amends for it as and in such manner that they will be satisfied therewith, so long as they comply with the Regulations

which the King my Lord has sent me, if not in the rest.

May our Lord add to your life and honour as you desire.

Given in this my city of Cota.

Done by Antonio da Silva, Secretary, and thus declared by Antonio Pereira, Lingoa of this Factory.

This 12th of November 1545.

(In Sinhalese) Sri.

Col. de São Lourenço. Tom III. ff. 346—347 v.

DOCUMENT 13

Jorge Velho to the Governor.

Senhor,

The King of Candea sent me to your Lordship as his ambassador to entreat, request, and demand on account of our Lord God and the King our Lord, that your Lordship will come to give him the water of baptism and to make him a Christian, because he desires greatly to be one, and his son and his people. He says he will marry his daughter with anyone your Lordship desires, and will hand her over so as, if you so wish, to marry her with one of the Princes who are there, or with whomever may seem better to you. With this he entreats your Lordship on the part of God and the King our Lord, that you should come and assist him in a very great war which Madune and the King of Cota are waging against him, through knowing that he is anxious to become a Christian; and the more knowledge they have of this, the more vigorously do they fight against him. He looks to the Lord God to defend him from them till your Lordship comes to his aid: and this must be at latest by January for his forces will not be able to withstand longer, as these others will be very strong and powerful.

And when I parted from him he clasped my hands very warmly and told me that he entrusted himself to me to accomplish his business and bring it to a finish with your Lordship as if he should come in his own person, and he continued in this hope and had no other wish except to see this accomplished.

As to which for my part I assure your Lordship, so far as I can judge from the King himself, I feel that he

has this desire firm and well fixed in his soul, and this for a long time. Because, if I thought anything else, I would not accept this mission and mislead your Lordship.

And because, while I am on the road on this work of his, our Lord thinks to obstruct this voyage by a very serious illness of which I am at the point of death, and in order that a task so serious and of such importance should not fail for lack of diligence, and may not be exposed to delay, I am asking the Padre Frey Joham de Villa de Conde, Guardião in Ceilam, to be willing to undertake the task and to take this message to your Lordship; for it seems to me that he is a person who will perform this very faithfully and accomplish this work, and your Lordship will more easily find pleasure in granting it to him.

I entreat you for the love of God to come and help and set matters right for this King, as it concerns the salvation of the whole of this Island,—so many men, so many women, so many children, so much wealth: for the love of God, let them not perish, especially as your Lordship has a very great reputation here for honour, zeal, the service of God, and the protection of Christians.

The road which your Lordship has to take to assist this King is to pass across the Baixos and come to the harbour of Triquina malle, where, the said King told me, he would come to receive your Lordship. If the Lord God restore me to health from this illness in which I am lying, I shall start on the road to give you a fuller account of what is passing.

Our Lord increase the life and estate of your Lordship for his service.

From this Port of Columbo of the Island of Ceylam, this thirteenth of November 1545.

The abovesaid priest is taking one letter which relates everything which the King desires, and also an olla. Both are from him, signed with his seal. He also takes another letter for the Senhor Dom Alvaro, your son, who already knows from me of this business.

Your Lordship's servant

Jorge Velho

Col. de São Lourenço. Tom. III: f. 342—343.

DOCUMENT 14

The Prince Dom João to the Infante Dom Henrique.
Senhor,

It was a great disappointment to me this past year that I had no opportunity to give your Highness an account of myself, for I am informed that you are so Catholic and a prince so very Christian, that you will be very much pleased with my letters; because, apart from the duties of your office and of your virtues, they should give the greater satisfaction as they are from a Prince so helpless as I am, for I exposed myself to the risk of losing everything by becoming a Christian. Everything I consider well spent since I am so fortunate that the Holy Spirit illuminated me in time, as your Lordship looks after all the helpless who newly become Christians. To me, who am the most Christian, you will do a special favour if you bring my affairs to the notice of the King my Lord, for I have written to him in detail and I am sending him a Memorial of what I am asking from him. If your Highness will take some interest in this respect, for that is the chief, I shall supply the labour and zeal; and I hope in God with his help and the support of your Highness greatly to increase in our most holy faith, and to make the Island of Ceilam wholly Christian, and it will be a work to be praised by all the world. I am not writing in detail about my affairs to your Highness, because Andre de Souza, my godfather, is relieving me of that task, as he has the charge of me and of my affairs. He can be entirely trusted, as he is a highly honoured fidalgo, and a person to whom I am much indebted; for it was he who converted me and made me a Christian, and also my brother, and he has spent on us all his wealth, and become much indebted,

and all this for the service of God and of his Highness. For this reason all are greatly indebted to him, and I to such an extent that if I wish to have anything, it is in order to repay him in part for his labour.

I shall be deeply grateful if your Highness will speak to the King my Lord about granting him a merçe. I am sending to ask that he be appointed my Captain and Governor of my lands, because he is suited in the quality of his person and his work, and also as he is a discreet person and knows well my ways and is very zealous in the service of God.

The Lord God increase the days of your Highness' life and your royal estate, for many years.

From this Goa this 15th of November 1545.

Dom João.

Gaveta 20. 7. 28.

DOCUMENT 15

Andre de Sousa to the Infante Dom Henrique.

Senhor,

Last year I had no opportunity of writing to your Highness because the day I reached Cochim the ships started and I was unable to do more than write a very short letter to the King our Lord, giving him an account of these sons of the King whom I made Christian; and as your Highness will already have knowledge, owing to the obligations of your office apart from any other reason for which it is due to you, I shall give you the briefest possible account of what happened in Ceilão.

When I was in Ceilão on the orders of the Governor Martin Affonço, I, in conjunction with two Frades of São Francisquo whom I took there with me, for a long time urged the son of the King of Ceilão to turn Christian. I influenced him so much that I had him already converted and was on the point of starting in a catur to go and make him a Christian at Goa, where was the Governor, when the King heard of it and had him treacherously put to death. When he was dead he ordered him to be cremated with much honour according to their custom. God performed here many miracles through his death, for the earth trembled and in the sky was seen a cross of the size of a mast and where they burnt him another opened on the ground. When the King learnt of this he ordered it to be filled up; and when they did so, it was soon after found open again. Wherefore many were converted, and I with my own hand made more than two hundred converts.

As soon as the King killed the eldest he was anxious to kill the two younger and me with them. I was warned of this and took them and retired into a Church with them

together with forty or fifty Portuguese men, and many Christian people who were of the country; and there I made them Christians in bands, at which their father was offended; and I came with them to India, where was the Governor Martin Affonço, and all this with much toil and danger of my person and much expenditure of my money.

I was received with distinction by the Governor and he kept them all this time till the arrival of Dom João de Castro. I had already arranged for them for the Island of Jafanapatão. Dom João was informed about the Princes and the way in which Martin Affonço had dealt with them. He gave them much more honour than Martin Affonço had rendered them, and he ordered them to be put in possession of the same Island of Jafanapatão, which is a promontory of the Island of Ceilão on the Northeast side where there is a lord, a wicked tyrant, who has a people who may be 30,000 souls; and they had sent to inform the Governor through some ambassadors that they wished to obey the Prince instead of their King and they would all become Christians, whereupon the Governor ordered to place them there as it would be greatly in the service of God and of the King our Lord.

Your Highness should speak many times with the King our Lord and arrange their matters with the Memorial which they are sending him there, for thus it is befitting the nature of this business. And as your Highness is the chief person, they place themselves in your hands to do everything which your Highness directs, whereby the road is open for rendering a great service to God.

As to what I have done in this matter you will render me a special favour if you will inform yourself from every person who comes from here and you will know what service I have done in this part to the King our Lord, besides twenty four years service in these re-

gions, and my father died in the King's service without their giving me any mercê for that; and if it seems to you that I deserve it, speak to the King on my behalf, as I have no one in those Kingdoms who will make the request for me, and I place everything in the hands of God and of your Highness, whose days of life and royal estate may God increase for many years.

From this Goa the 15th of November 1545.

Andre de Souza.

Gaveta 20. 7. 28.

DOCUMENT 16

The Prince Dom João's Memorial.

These are the matters which your Highness should urge before the King my Lord on my behalf:—

I should be confirmed as Prince of Ceilão and King of Jafanapatão.

Jurisdiction over all Christians from Cape Comorin inwards in both civil and criminal matters, and all judicial decisions should be confirmed by my hand and proclamations issued in my name; and all must come to live in my territory, because they are all scattered over the Kingdoms of the heathen and they obtain justice from them just like their own people.

As for all the offices of my kingdoms or territories, where there are such, the Governor should have no power to gift them, but only I.

As for the lands of my brother, whom God keeps, the Governor should order them to be delivered to the Infante Dom Luis my brother, because my father declares that he is not prepared to give them, since he is a Christian.

If it is the will of God, for his service, to take me away, my brother Dom Luiz remains my heir to all my property and Seignories.

I should have the power to build in my territory or wherever it may be, ships and vessels, and my Fazenda must have the power to order them to be built, and to carry on trade through all the countries of our friends.

I should be able to maintain on my Guard a hundred Portuguese casados and also other Portuguese who will not receive soldo or mantimento from your Highness, and these and others who come to live there, I can

compel to serve me, paying them their soldo and mantimento.

I should be able to make war by sea and by land on all the Kings and Lords who may be opposed to the Christians, and the service of your Highness, without the License of the Governors.

The heathen who carry on the Fishery of pearls, must give me one day's fishery in each Mouçan, since this is carried out in my territory and it was the custom from ancient times to give that to the Lord thereof.

That you may be pleased that Mestre Diogo should remain with me in my lands and to appoint him Bishop over all my Seignories.

That Andre de Souza should be my Capitan and Governor of all my Seignories during his life.

These are the matters which I request from the King our Lord: regarding them your Highness should for the service of God and to render me a favour, obtain from the King our Lord that he should send me Decrees, so that these Kings, Moors and heathen, may know that I am favoured by your Highnesses.

I continue praying to the Lord God to increase the days of your Highness' life and of your Royal Estate for many years.

From Goa, the 15th of November 1545.

Gaveta 20. Maço 7 Doc. 28.

DOCUMENT 17

Andre de Sousa to Dom João III.

Senhor,

Last year I wrote to your Highness how I had come to Cochim with a Prince of Ceilão whom I made a Christian, and I gave you a detailed account of the country and of what had occurred there, by letters and Memorials. Eight days after the ships set out from there, a younger brother of the Prince came and also many honoured people from Ceilão, and there they all became Christians at once and the Infante took the name of Dom Luis. I went with all of them to Goa, where was the Governor Martim Affonço who received them with distinction and as became the quality of such Princes and the credit of your Highness.

All this time up till April he was engaged with their business; after ascertaining from me and from other people who wrote to him from Ceilão, he decided to send them to Ceilão and to place them in possession of the lands of their brother whom the King had killed, and he would also take for them from the King a sea port.

When I was waiting with men and vessels in the sea to set out, news reached us suddenly that the Rumes were coming; therefore it did not seem to me right at such a time to take people outside India. I persuaded the Princes to go and offer their services to the Governor, and he thanked them much and was very grateful.

In the middle of the winter some ambassadors came to the Princes from Jafanapatão, and to the Governor, with a message from that people in which they said that in ancient times they were subjects of the King of Ceilão and that the Lord who ruled there compelled them by force to obey him; but that since the sons of the King

of Ceilão were Christians, they were anxious to render them obedience as King and that they all would become Christians. Thereupon Martin Affonço took part in this business, and after informing himself of the truth, ordered the Princes to be sent there, when at that crisis Dom João de Castro arrived, wherefore this was not carried out.

As soon as Dom João arrived he sent to summon the Princes, and did them much greater honour than Martin Affonço had done them, for he directed them to be accompanied by his sons, because till this time they never went outside my house. He ascertained how Martin Affonço had decided on their matters and had agreed to send them to Jafanapatão as it was greatly in the service of God and of your Highness. He did not wait for anything else than for an Ambassador whom he had sent to Ceilão to make an inquiry as your Highness ordered, to see what reply the King gave, because, perhaps, it might be necessary to interfere in other more weighty matters. For we had information that the King had entered into an arrangement with his brother to forbid people being made Christians in Ceylon. The truth regarding that the Governor will write to your Highness, for every day he is expecting a report.

This Island of Jafanapatão on which I am saying that they are going to place these Princes, is not an Island of itself but only along with this same Island of Ceilão. It is a promontory which lies on the North east. It will be forty leagues in length through one side and through the other: and eighteen at the broadest and three at the narrowest. It is occupied by people who are weak and have no arms, and the country also is poor and of little profit. It is ruled by a Senhor, a tyrant and a wicked man, who previously was subject to the Kings of Ceilão and afterwards revolted against them; at this time there broke out among the Kings of Ceilão contentions and wars,

wherefore he of Jafanapatão was left to his own will. This man who is there now is not of the Senhors who had the right to rule the land; but only their servant and a cunning man. So in the war he got together many people and killed his Lord and also all those who were unwilling to render him obedience: in the course of which he killed more than 2000 men; consequently he is unpopular with all and they are in revolt against him, as he is now old and he has no heir nor anyone to take his place. And now, as the greatest of his sins, he killed seven hundred or so Christians; in order to make him pay what is due from him and for these reasons which I state above, the Governor has decided to send the Princes there. When that is so there will be a road for the whole of Ceilão becoming Christian, because all are waiting for nothing else except to see how your Highness is going to deal with these men.

They are writing to your Highness to obtain there justice from their father who slew their brother because he was going to become a Christian, and they beg you to confirm them as Prince of Ceilão and they send you a Memorial of the matters of which they have need. In doing them this favour you will perform a great service to God and to yourself for these Princes are so honoured and so anxious to increase our most holy faith. Because with the help of God and the favour of your Highness there stands open the road for much work being done in his service; and in all affairs nothing is done without favours, and I in this matter relieve my conscience.

As a petty and trivial detail I write to your Highness of the cost, expences, and toil which I have incurred over these Princes. You will do me a great favour if you will inform yourself from every person who comes from here and on ascertaining that I merit a mercê, will give me one. Apart from many other services which I have done you for twenty and four years in these parts, my

father was killed in your service after many years in Africa, without any mercê being ever given him.

I beseech your Highness to make me a Merce of the Pescarias of Aljofre for four years to help me to pay my debts; with anything further which the Prince is asking from you for me, I shall be satisfied in respect of the services of myself and of my father. I ask for these Pescarias from your Highness because they are carried on in this same Island of Jafanapatão where I am going to remain with the Princes, and I am able to attend to both one matter and the other. Since I have no one in those Kingdoms to make the application for me, I leave the matter in the hands of the Lord God and in the conscience of your Highness, to whom may God increase the days of your life and your Royal Estate for many years.

From Goa, the 15th of November 1545.

Andre de Sousa.

Gaveta 2. Maço 6. Doc. 12.

DOCUMENT 18

The Prince Dom João to Dom João III.

Senhor,

Last year I wrote to your Highness how the Lord God did me the great favour that through his infinite mercy he made me a Christian, a matter which my ancestors had so forgotten and the people of today are so obstinately in this evil belief that they succeed in defending it with arguments and falsehoods, as now my father is doing, who is trying to prohibit it with arms, because today it cannot be by arguments and falsehoods, in view of the many miracles which our Lord showed here at the death of my brother whom may God receive in Paradise.

For crosses were opened on the earth and others appeared in heaven and the earth trembled so that I do not know what would be the heart which was not converted, although today many are doing it by broad day in my father's cidade; they are not baptised except against his will, for which I give many holy thanks to our Lord that by the intervention of so frail a person he should be willing to effect so great a work in his service and the increase of the State of Your Highness.

Eight days after the ships of last year started from here there came to join me my younger brother, whom my mother had hidden so that the King should not kill him. I made him a Christian with many honoured people who came with him and we came to this city of Goa where we are at present. We were received by the Governor Martin Affonço de Sousa with distinction, where we remained till April with much hospitality which he showed me every day; and he had already arranged for me with the lands of my brother and with a sea port of my father which I asked from him. And when we were

already prepared with the ships in the sea news reached us that the Rumes were coming beyond a doubt. Therefore it did not seem to me to be right that I should fail to take part in that matter. I went and offered myself to the Governor with my men and my brother, a matter for which he greatly thanked me, also for not laying on him the task of sending outside India at such a crisis, as well as because he saw the desire which he found in me to serve your Highness.

From January till April I was unwilling to accept money or the expences of my house from the Governor because your Highness' expences here are great, and also for other reasons which it is not necessary to mention; only with what Andre de Souza had and the loans he obtained for me I maintained myself all this time; after that Martin Affonço ordered for me forty cruzados a month for the expences of my person and of my household. I was obliged to accept this for the relief of my expences because many people were coming to me by land, and they did nothing every day except come from three or four hundred leagues. They came to become Christians.

At the end of the winter Martin Affonço sent word to me to get ready as I had to go to the lands which he previously gave me. I asked him for Jafanapatão, which is a promontory of the Island of Ceilão which is mine of right, for it revolted against the Kings of Ceilão and the chief men of the country are here with me; they were sent by the people who wished all to become Christians and to obey me as King and to drive away that tyrant from the land, and other matters which your Highness will see in Andre de Sousa's letter.

Martin Afonço brought the subject before his Council and sent word to me a second time that he was willing to place me in Jafanapatão. When I was just about to start, Dom João de Castro arrived unexpectedly and

everything remained as if killed. He was informed regarding me and my matters and sent for me and showed me great honour and entertained me. I gave him an account of my affairs, how Martin Affonço had arranged them. He took advice and sent to Ceilão to hold an inquiry which your Highness ordered. He is waiting for a report; as soon as it arrives, a final decision will be come to in regard to my affairs. I learn from his son Dom Alvaro that he is going to place me in possession of Jafanapatão. For two reasons I would be greatly pleased: one is to make that people Christian, since they ask for it, and they will be close on 30,000 lost souls; and the other is to drive that tyrant from that land, for it is eight months since he slew 700 Christians; and also because my father has entered into an arrangement with his brother to make war and to prevent Christians being made in their country. If I am in this country they are not able to act in this matter, because I shall make war on them, and all the people of Ceilão can gather round me by land, for they are not waiting for anything else but to join with me. At present they are in doubt about my being favoured by your Highness, for these people are weak and lack confidence; nevertheless for this reason I would be pleased at my being placed in Jafanapatão; because so far as I am concerned I have faith in God, that since he considered it in his service to make me a Christian, his mercy will not fail me, and justice and help in your Highness.

I pass over many matters to save you the reading: the rest will appear in the letter of Andre de Souza and of other people who are going from here and are writing to your Highness. What I beg is that you should keep in mind me and my affairs which are in the state I mention; and do me justice in respect of my father who killed my brother so as to make his grandson heir of the Kingdom, and because he knew that he was coming to India with

Andre de Sousa to become a Christian; and make me a mercê of the Kingdom of Ceilão at the death of my father or before that, if for his faults he is losing it; because it is mine by right.

When this is so settled my brother Dom Luís will remain King of Jafanapatão; and so long as this does not take place, order him to be given the lands which belonged to my brother whom God keep, which the King my father is not willing to give up, urging as a reason that it is because we are Christians.

I am sending a Memorial to your Highness of the matters regarding which I need your favour; send an Alvara regarding everything which I ask from you and do not leave everything to the Governors here, for they have many anxieties; and also because it is I who am asking, that these Kings, Moors and heathen, may know that I am favoured by your Highness.

After all my affairs are arranged as is to the service of God and of yourself, I beg you to remember Andre de Sousa, my godfather, that as to what is decided about me, he be appointed my Capitão and Governor of all my lands, since with all this it is not in my power to repay him for all the trouble he has taken about me; for the least was that he made me a Christian and protected me so that they should not kill me, and he has made many people Christian and is providing them with clothes and shoes at his own expense, and further the expences of my household and of my brother till now are supplied by him; wherefore he deserves much favour from God and your Highness for he has taught us and given us the doctrine as is becoming to our position. Yet up till now he has received little favour from the Governors and he is only doing this for the service of God and of your Highness. Apart from the various other services which for over twenty years and more he has rendered to your Highness, in consequence of which he is heavily in debt;

and he begs your Highness for the Pescaryas of Aljofre; in this respect you will do me a special favour by giving them, so that he may be able to pay his debts.

I am also under great obligations to the Mestre Diogo for much doctrine and consolation, and also he has laboured much in regard to my applications to the Governors for the service of God and of your Highness. And because I am anxious to recognise even in some degree the trouble which he has taken on my behalf and also to take religious people of good life and customs, I request your Highness among the great favours, to make him Bishop over all my territories wherever I may be, for he is a person of great virtue who is well suited for the requirements of such a dignity; and with this I continue praying to our Lord for the increase in the days of your Highness' life and of your Royal Estate for many years.

From this Goa the 15th day of November 1545.

Dom Joam.

To the King my Lord.

Corps Chron. 1. 77. 12.

DOCUMENT 19

Frey Joham de Villa de Conde to the Governor.

Senhor,

I made up my mind to return with Duarte Barbudo to tell your Lordship of the intentions, words and acts which I see in this King, so far removed from what the King our Lord expected out of the acts of friendship and benevolence which this King had received from him. With this intention I went on board and waited there three days. But seeing that the weather continued unfavourable, I disembarked again because the Monsoon for which I was waiting was closing and going. I see the zeal, devotion and anxiety which your Lordship has over this matter, and your confidence and reliance in Duarte Barbudo, whom your Lordship will believe more, according to what they tell me, than what we together can report to you.

I am instructing this padre who is going there, to tell you what is taking place, and also how the King is sending to tell me that I should not go, as he will do everything which I shall desire. This is a matter which is going on for three years, that he should always say this and never carry it out: and this is what he will do now.

One conviction I tell your Lordship according to what I feel; that towards which people feel attracted, that they must emphasize. For the King gives them mercês, and these are the reason of their being inclined towards him. I lay no blame on them, although they are not free from blame; for they came from the Reyno for that purpose; I place them before Jesus crucified, who for each one of these poor and helpless souls shed all his precious blood, whom the devil by himself and his

servants—one of whom is this King—is labouring to drag under his banner.

He wrote to your Lordship the reply to your letter which he is sending you. It is that he cannot become a Christian, and that he never had such an intention or idea: and that as for those who were and are becoming Christians, he is greatly grieved at their becoming such; for they do not pay his direitos and they are rebellious and disobedient.

I assure your Lordship that this is not the case, for all the Guarda Mors since we came here make them do this, and so do I in respect of everything for which they are liable. And this he makes out as he has in truth no other reason to urge for being annoyed at their conversion and he is angry with them for this and he cannot look at them, and of all the converts up till now he has taken no one into his palace, though he takes Moors and a variety of his own heathen; for these he says he does not care, letting it be understood that with them he is compelled to face a risk.

The ambassador well replied that if the King our Lord was pleased with that, it was not necessary in regard to his people. With these fears and dislikes of us more than of all, and from those who are there being his nephews, he has changed entirely in his speech, behaviour and Guard; for he has people of various races on his Guard and does not care for the Portuguese. And from this he plucked up boldness to treat us thus and to write to you and to the King our Lord like a Grand Senhor. So that he declares that for no consideration is he prepared to do what your ambassador begged from him on behalf of the King and of yourself in this manner, and he is not becoming a Christian as he approves of the evils which the Christians undergo. But while he was here many became Christians as he can tell you more in detail.

He further sends and says that just as they dealt with him, so will they find him in the service of the King, with other statements which your Lordship will weigh there the more. He showed himself in such fashion that these Portuguese who are here stand in fear of his doing them some harm once these galleons which are here, sail away.

The details of this business are such that writing cannot deal with them; in everything I rely upon the goodness of Duarte Barbudo and of this padre who is going there. I entreat your Lordship to protect us, in the best manner possible.

The second reason which induced me to come here was the fact that a King of half of this island is anxious to become Christian. As to this matter the letters which I am sending with this and this padre and Duarte Barbudo will give you the manner and method thereof. And as in your time our Lord is commencing a matter of such importance, my opinion is that you ought to bring it to a conclusion, for I feel that so great is the desire of your soul for this task: unless for our sins we neglect it and a work of such magnitude has no one in our time to help it on.

I am sending there that padre; for the love of God, as to what I ask from you, order them to be given, for we have need of them.

May he be pleased to increase the life and estate of your Lordship for his service.

From Ceylam; the 17th of November 1545.

Your Lordship's unworthy preacher

Frey Joham de Villa de Cõde.

DOCUMENT 20

Dom João III to the Viceroy.

And with regard to the Prince of Ceilão and the King his uncle and about the King of Jafanapatão in whose country our Lord was pleased that those martyrs should receive martyrdom, because with reference to each one of these matters there is much to say, and about the punishment of this King of Jafanapatão I believe, according to what the Vigario told me and Mestre Francisco wrote to me, that Martin Affonço has already taken action in a case of such gross cruelty.

The Prince of Ceilão I greatly recommend to you, and he must be so favoured by you and treated with the distinction which is due to what he has done, which places me under every obligation of being bound to esteem him highly for it and to desire that you should treat him in this manner. Because when you act thus towards him, apart from its being something which is much due, it will serve as a powerful incentive to the rest to do the same as he did.

Antonio Ferraz did this, in Evora on the first day of the month of December 1545.

King to Viceroy, Corpo Chron. Pt. 1. M. 77. Doc. 44.
(Extract.)

DOCUMENT 21

Mestre Pero Fernandes to Dom João III.

Yesterday, which was the 18th of December, the Kings of Camde and of Tanor sent letters to the Governor that they wished to become Christians; and as this is a matter of such great service to God and the spread of our Holy Catholic faith, and of such pleasure to your Highness, the Governor has decided to go in person with the Bishop, provided that Idalquão does not come into conflict with him. I do not think that he would venture to come into conflict because he is greatly astounded and terrified by a great review which the Governor held eight days ago which was a business well worth seeing; for at the review there assembled four hundred horsemen under arms, so much so that the men the Governor dealt with might seem more than a thousand. If Idalquão tries to make any movement, then the Governor will send his son Dom Alvaro with the Bishop; and if the latter is unable to go I have offered to go if he so orders. For I hope in God that with your Highness' good fortune very shortly the whole of this land may be converted to Christ.

From this Guoa the 20th of December 1545.

Your Highness' preacher and servant

Pero Fernandes.

To the King our Lord from Mestre Pero.

Corpo Chron. 1. 77. 52. (Extract.)

DOCUMENT 22

Andre de Sousa to Dom João III.

Senhor,

In the other letters I wrote to your Highness how I was going with the Prince of Ceilão to Jafanapatão in January, because matters were so decided. Afterwards it happened that the ambassador whom the Governor had sent to Ceilão returned and brought a message from the King to the Governor in which he said that he was never going to become a Christian, that rather he will be a Moor, and that he never ordered such a thing to be told to your Highness, and many other unfriendly statements. He is in every matter astute and very friendly with his brother. They have made great schemes and arrangements in their determination to take the Kingdom from the King of Candia, who is a King of the middle of the Island which is on a serra; their object is to make themselves strong there and to prevent any Christians being made in Ceilão, and not to give cinnamon.

That which impels them the more to do this is the fear which they have that these Christian Princes whom we have here, will be able to take this Kingdom from them. Your Highness can be certain that they will inflict great loss on us, both in respect of the Christians as well as over the cinnamon, while we can cause them none. We will be compelled to do everything which they want. Now they have been fighting for one month; many people are dying on one side and the other.

The Governor was informed of this. He has decided to go there in September 1546. When he goes there a great service will be done to your Highness and they will give freedom to all the Christians of those parts, because in that part they are deprived of our favour.

Owing to this it became necessary to postpone the departure of the Princes for that same September, in order to put through both the one business and the other, because with the completion of them much service will be rendered to God.

The Princes were somewhat dissatisfied in view of the long time they are staying in this country, and they are in ill health here, and also because their kinsmen are writing to them many *olas* which come from there, and they are waiting for them so that all might become Christians. The Governor consoled them and they are to some extent appeased.

Further, the departure is postponed till September so as to see the reply to the letters which I wrote to your Highness through Fernão Peres de Andrade, to ascertain what your Highness' orders are regarding the King of Ceilão.

After this decision was reached, there came some Frades with letters and *olas* from the King of Candea for the Governor and for the Princes in which he said that they should help him with fifty Portuguese, and the Frades reported that he wished to become a Christian, he and his children and all his Kingdom, and to give his daughter in marriage to the Prince who was here with us; and of this he sent signed statements that he would fulfil this under pain of losing his Kingdom: that as soon as these letters of his were seen, he begged in the name of Holy Maria and of your Highness that they should immediately pay attention to them; because the Kings of Ceilão were anxious to take his kingdom from him so as to strengthen themselves there and to wage war there against the Portuguese, and that he preferred to give it to your Lordship than to them.

This which the King of Candia did, is on the advice of an honoured man named Nuno Alvares Pereira, who is there with him. He is a man by whom the King guides

himself, wherefore he deserves great favour from God and your Highness. And this man and his necessity are what induced him to do this. The result is the Governor is sending me there with the fifty men and the same Frades for us to make Christians, and to arrange the marriage for the Prince and to fight with the Kings of Ceilão and to protect him till the Governor goes from here. And this, when he carries out what he promises. And your Highness can believe, that if God permits me to get there, I shall render you much service, because I have there among them great credit, and the King by his letters is inviting me and has also written to the Governor. And as I am greatly needed there, the Princes and the Governor are satisfied to let me go; on no other ground would they allow me to go.

This Kingdom of Candia lies in the middle of the Island of Ceilão and is thirty leagues in length on all its boundaries. It is fifteen leagues from the nearest point of the Kingdom to the sea, and thirty to the Lugares. The country is fertile, with much food of all kinds; there is a lack of fish and salt: when there is a war, they have everything else in abundance.

The commercial products of his Kingdom consist of elephants, wax, areca, and precious stones. It also produces much cinnamon. It has sufficient money, because it spends little; it has precious stones in abundance, and they are priced very low; for in his Kingdom he has twelve gem fields from which they get gems, which are sapphires, emeralds, catseyes, and rubies small and good. The Kingdom is to a great extent inhabited and the population is large. Of fighting men they have 20,000, and all use bows. They have no other arms.

All this I know as a verity and I have learnt it very well from many people who were there and I too have already been there on one occasion. There are some very great mountains at the entrance at every point where

people come, and they have great passes which they can defend with a small force. It is for this reason the Kings of Ceilão are not able to enter it. Within the country is very level, resembling the plain of Santarem.

The children of the King of Candia are cousins of the Princes of Ceilão and for this reason they are anxious to bring about this marriage. This is the nature of the country of the Kingdom of Candia, and to this account your Highness can give credit, because I know it well and for everything which I have written here I hold myself as the authority.

The Frades and I are starting in January to carry out the service of God and of your Highness and this I am doing at a great expenditure of my means and much danger to my person, because I needs must go fifteen leagues through the territory of the enemy, till I reach the boundaries of the King of Candia. And all this I am doing for the service of God and your Highness, whom I entreat to keep me in mind and also my services, because in that Reyno I have not anyone to urge my claims, but only the Lord God; and in his hands I leave the matter and in the conscience of your Highness, to whom may God greatly increase the days of your life and of your Royal Estate for many years.

Written in Goa the 20th of December 1545.

Andre de Sousa.

Gav. 2. Maço. 6. Doe. 12.

DOCUMENT 23

Grant in favour of Migell Ferreira.

Dom João by the Grace of God, King of Portugall etc.

To all who shall see this Carta of mine I make known that having regard to the many services which I have received for many years in these parts of India from Migel Ferreira who is serving me there, both in the Capitaincies of men and ships with which he was many times entrusted by my Captain Majors and Governors of the said parts, as also in other matters of high consequence which were committed to him by them to carry out my service, of which he always gave a very good account and served me as was expected from him and as I expect that henceforth he will do, and as I desire above all to render him a mercê and a reward for his services and his personal merits, I command and it is my pleasure to give him em fatiota from this day for ever, an Island named Manar which lies beyond the Baixos of Chillao close to the country of Ceillam, which is unoccupied, and also the district called Memdote in the country of Jafannapatão which to day is in the possession of the King of the said Jafanapatão, so that he shall possess this for himself and his heirs, ascendants and descendants; and with the said Island and district the said Migel Ferreira may do everything which seems good to him as his own property, and take the profits thereof and make therein all such cultivations as he pleases.

I thus notify to my Captain Major and Governor of the said parts who today is and who in the future will be, and to the Veadores of my Fazenda, and to all Captains, Justices, and officers whatsoever to whom it pertains, that they shall commit and entrust the posses-

sion of the said Island of Manar and the District of Memdote to the said Migel Ferreira, and permit him to hold and possess them and make therein all cultivations and get the profit thereof and enjoy the same and derive from them all use and fruits as from a property of his own without there being laid thereon any doubt or impediment whatsoever, for such is my *merçê*, and for the confirmation thereof I command this my Carta to be issued to him.

Given in my Cidade of Goa under my Royal seal.

The King commanded this by Dom Joam de Crasto of his Council, his Captain General and Governor of India etc.

Amtonio Gomcalves did this the 15th of January in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1546.

Amtonio Cardoso, Secretary, caused this to be written.

I subscribed thereto

Dom João de Crasto.

Ch. de Dom Joao III. L. 70.

DOCUMENT 24

The King of Ceilão to the Governor.

From the King of Ceylam.

The Magnifico Dom Joham de Crasto, of the Council of the King my Lord, his Captain General and Governor of India, etc.

I, the King of Ceilam, make known to you that I am informed that some people have said and others have written to you, matters regarding me which were not at any time according to my custom. For five and twenty years I have laboured and am labouring for the friendship of the King my Lord, and wholeheartedly to do what is for his service, as I shall do so long as I live.

Wherefore I entreat you as a friend not to believe anything about me which they can tell you I am doing against the service of God and the King my Lord, or what they can tell you about my person and country, as up till now previous Governors have done, since in nobility and knowledge you excel them. If you should come here you will be a good witness of the hardships which I have suffered and am suffering, from the few wise men who desire the service of God and the King my Lord. They are of such vehemence and force that it seems more like snatching from me what is mine than asking for it. Wherefore you should be amazed that I have not burst with rage and am not now wandering in the forests.

I have sent a man of mine there to you to make certain requests which concern me; I desire you to send him back and also to comply with what I hope for.

They further tell me that there are some persons there and others who wrote to you from here and asked for

Alvaras to remain in my sea ports. I request that you should not grant them these nor write to me on the subject. These are the men who ruin my country and make themselves Kings therein without my being able to control it. Wherefore I tell you this and request you not to issue such Alvaras; if you wish to obtain any matter from me, write and I shall grant it.

May God increase your life and honour as is desired by you.

Given in this my Cidade of Cota on the 18th of February 1546.

(In Sinhalese) Sri.

For the Governor of India.

Col. de São Lourenço T. III. ff. 348 and 349.

DOCUMENT 25

Dom João III. to the Governor.

Dom João de Castro, Friend,

I, the King, wish you good health.

With regard to the matter of the King of Jafanapatam and the death which he inflicted on those martyrs, I am very greatly displeased and grieved as is to be expected. And as I saw by the letters of Mestre Francisquo, Martim Affonço gave orders to send and punish him according to the nature of the case. If it has been so done, I shall derive great satisfaction therefrom. If that is not so, I strictly charge you that you should attend to this, as he deserves it. For it would be a bad example in those parts to pass over a matter of this nature without the punishment which is due to it.

Mestre Francisco is writing to me that this King has a brother who told him that he and all the people would become Christian, if I would give him this country, and this would be very excellent for winning these souls and making them Christians. But regarding this there is another matter to be noted, which is that the Prince of Ceylão, who became a Christian, is making the same request; and the Queen his mother sent to tell me through Andre de Sousa that if I would give this land to her son, she would become Christian along with all her kinsmen and dependants. Also there is still another matter to be considered, although of less importance than any of the others, for I am under no further obligation than I am willing to accept or to add to what is incumbent on me. It is that the King of Ceylão urges that I should carry out the provision which I have given him, in which I said I was pleased to restore this country to him as he said

that it is his, and he will give me four hundred quintals more of cinnamon and he will cancel the debt which I owe him. It is not possible for me to decide from here which of these courses is the best, because of the great distance and time must lapse before my decision can arrive there, and also because it is not possible for me to know in convenient time the condition in which matters stand there. I think, to enable you to decide on the point, it is enough that you should only know that I seek nothing save the service of our Lord and the spread of his faith and I shall consider that decision the best which is most in accordance with this my desire.

It is true that in view of what this Prince did and in order that all may see that by becoming Christian they do not only what is needed for their souls, I shall be pleased at there being done to him in everything what should be a greater honour to him and increase of his estate and greater satisfaction to the Queen his mother, for with that she also is won to become a Christian and with her all her said kinsmen and dependants, when they have the Prince as Senhor.

And when you reach a decision on the matter as it seems to you most to the service of our Lord and myself, as I have very good reports regarding Andre de Sousa who came with him from Ceyllão and it was he who laboured to make him a Christian and saved him from the death which the King wished to inflict on him, it is my pleasure that you send him with him and give him the office of his Capitão and Guarda Mor, of which for these reasons it is my pleasure to make him a *merçê*. And as regards the punishment of the King of Jafanapatam, you will inflict it on him if it is possible conveniently to do so.

At Allmeiryem the eighth of March 1546.

DOCUMENT 26

Migell Ferreira to the Governor.

Senhor,

On reaching Cochin I handed to Frey Antonio the letter your Lordship gave me for him, and I told him of your Lordship's order that I should touch at Calle, and with those two men whom you entrusted to me, speak with the Bramine who is the heir of Jafanapatão. He replied that he quite agreed and that all of us will go together. A few days later he started one midnight, without any notice to me; I followed at once; but when I reached Calle he had already left. He sent for the Bramine who would not come, so he continued at once on the road to the Pescaria, where he got news that two Frades from Ceilão were on the road to Candia and he did not have patience. He was much irritated with them about their stealing a march on him; Ayres de Figueiredo told me this when I was at the Pescaria.

Senhor, I reached Calle, and forthwith sent a message to the Bramine who was three leagues away in the country, and he came at once. I went and spoke to him at a house and asked him on your Lordship's behalf, if he, together with his children, grandchildren and kinsmen, were willing to be Christians.

He replied that João Fernandez Coreia, Factor of the Pescaria, once made him go on board but effected nothing, and took from him a diamond; similarly Martin Affonço had taken him to the Island das Vacas, and sent him back from there after taking some pearls from him; now he had nothing left: in consequence of the four or five thousand pardaos which the King of Jafanapatão had given Martin Affonço, he would not put him in possession. He told me various other matters; but, be-

cause of what he had heard about me, he said that he would go on board with me at once with his children, grandchildren, and many of his kinsmen and friends, as he had confidence in my word, and they would become Christians immediately.

When I saw the large number of people who wished to go on board, I had not the courage, nor was it possible to find accommodation in one catur. I told him that your Lordship had ordered me, as soon as I had spoken to him, to go and collect people to place him in possession of the Kingdom: that he could regard it as certain that your Lordship would place him there, even though the King of Jafanapatão should give you two thousand contos of gold; and so I wished him farewell and he remained satisfied, as he felt sure that we should soon return for him.

I started from there and went on to Muraao at the Pescaria, where Ayres de Figueiredo was, and gave him your Lordship's letter. He at once summoned the Patagatins, and we spoke with them. They all declared that this could not be done except in September, which is the small Pescaria, and that your Lordship should send two hundred Portuguese and they will suffice, and that even if they should be less, they will accomplish the task, because there was less to do than we thought. With regard to that matter I guarantee to your Lordship that there is but little needed, but they said that they wanted two more champanas of rice for the poor people. It is now settled that at the beginning of September we should all meet and I should send a message to them as soon as possible to Beadalla, and thus I arranged with Ayres de Figueiredo.

Further, your Lordship may be assured that if you send to occupy Jafanapatão, more than 200,000 souls will be made Christian. I say this from what I see and know, for they went and fetched a padre who should go to make Christians of a settlement of people, situated between

Candia and Batecaloa. Also the bulk of the people of Candia are anxious to become Christians, and all the people of Jafanapatão will be the same if the King went away from them.

Your Lordship now sees how great a service of God this is, and you will know if the King our Lord will be pleased with that or not. I am not aware of a greater blessing which your Lordship can give to your son than to entrust this task to him, when he will accomplish a tremendous service to God and our Lord the King; and if your Lordship will look carefully into this matter, you will regard as certain what I am saying here.

If your Lordship think this is a petty charge for your son, then I shall kiss your Lordship's hands to give me this *merçê*: it will be a very great thing for me that I should be entrusted with so honourable a task because I hope in God to finish it, even though your Lordship does not help me more than with the people of this coast of Choromandell.

If your Lordship consider this for his service, send me by this patamar a very strongly worded proclamation, addressed to all the Portuguese of this coast and also all those who come from Maculepatão and Ourisa and Bengalla: that your Lordship commands that all these be compelled, both those who come in ships as well as others, under pain of losing their property and being imprisoned, that they should go to Jafanapatão; and if your Lordship decide to send Dom Alvaro your son, and consider it desirable that I should collect here all the men, send me an answer for that purpose and for everything else which will be necessary, as I hope to take from here good help. I think, Senhor, that the padre Frey Paulo will be very good and very necessary for making Christians and also for getting together those men of the Pescaria. For it seems to me that your Lordship cannot find a man more suitable for that purpose than

him, and that he should go there in September to assist in collecting those Patangatins and the people of the Pescaria, who are more than 10,000 fighting men.

Further, my Lord, I spoke with Antonio Mendez at Negapatão. He, with his friends and his family, is ready to go there to serve the Senhor Dom Alvaro, or whom-ever your Lordship sends; and for him to go and offer his services to your Lordship, you should write to them some orders; and here Antonio Toscano is ready, for he is very necessary for such undertakings. Of everything which is needed I shall prepare a memorandum for your Lordship, and I am sending you this patamar in order that you may know what I have done and what arrangements have been made.

Senhor, Antonio de Lemos died here and his wife was left behind quite unprovided for, and it is well known that before his death he obtained a licence from Martin Affonço to buy a vazilha and send it to Malaqua, as no king's ship was going there. With the help they gave him here, he bought a champana which he sent from here with a little cargo, as he had no more, and also in order that the merchants who were going from here might go in her, so as to pay him some passage money as is the practice. And there the Captain of Malaca took from him all the cargo which was to have gone in her, and sent it in a wretched vessel which is here, belonging to him and other people, and which trades between here and Bengalla, while that of Antonio de Lemos returned without anything: which caused more expense than was the profit, and she should have got from it 800 cruzados as freight, and the poor woman is left without a crumb. It seems to me that your Lordship should inquire into this matter and do her justice, as she is an orphan and quite helpless.

Further, Senhor, Antonio de Lemos left her as heir and legatee to a few old sheds, and that wretched cham-

pana, as he had nothing else, and a horse; and there-upon the Provedor gave her forty pardaos. The wives of men like Antonio de Lemos are not accustomed to such poverty. They took from her that which was not right; what more could they do to the wife of a cabin boy; I report this to your Lordship so that you should take action regarding it.

Senhor, there are here two orphan girls of thirteen and fourteen years, the daughters of respected men who have rendered service, and they have no father or mother or kinsman, and here they give them an esmolla on which they maintain themselves. If your Lordship wishes to render a service to God, I give them 600 pardaos from my soldo; your Lordship should bid them transfer it where you wish, and tell them to pay it back to me at the Pescaria which is held there. And with those 600 pardaos they will marry them and the King loses nothing thereby. If your Lordship is willing to do this God will reward you, which is a very great matter; they are so helpless that they have no other resource than that which they give them for the love of God. Up till now they are good girls.

Of everything I give an account to your Lordship as you bid me.

May our Lord prolong the days of your Lordship's life and increase your prosperity.

In this São Thome, the 28th of March 1546.

Migel Ferreira

For the Senhor Governor, my Senhor.

Col. de São Lourenço, III. f. 350—352

DOCUMENT 27

Andre de Sousa to the Governor.

I shall give your Lordship an account of this country although the Padre Antonio is going there; as I think I have a great advantage over him in my knowledge thereof and this was the reason which moved me to come here in the manner I did without assistance from your Lordship, and though I was seriously advised by my relations and friends not to do so; the desire I had of serving God and the King our Lord and your Lordship by showing in deeds what I am, urged me to undertake this task which is held in such little honour by the men of to-day. I hope in the kindness of the Lord God that, since I am employed in his service and the work is his, he will move the good will of the King our Lord and of your Lordship, to give me a mercê.

We reached this city of the King of Candia on the 25th of April, forty Portuguese, and were received with distinction. The King had already become a Christian secretly and by night, because I wrote to him from the galley that he should become a Christian. For the Portuguese were afraid to come here, with the apprehension that if he got them here he would not become a Christian nor allow them to go back, but if I knew he was a Christian, they would let me come and gladly follow me. The King took the advice and became a Christian on the 9th of March. He then sent word to me that I should come up quickly, as rapidly as I could, because Madune was pressing him very severely. I accordingly did so, and as soon as I came here he announced that he was a Christian; and when this was known the country began to rebel. He, as a Prince and a shrewd man, dissimulated and assured his people that he was not a Christian and did

not intend to be one, but that he said he was in order to deceive the Portuguese, so as to take his revenge on Madune.

With this he tried to soothe and pacify the country and the Padre. He thought, however that this was wrong and he and Nuno Alvarez went to speak to the King; I do not know what took place there; they came away displeased with him, so that we should go away. The Padre is exasperated; he does not know the ways of these blacks. He and Nuno Alvarez came and told me to go and ask leave from the King for us to return, or he must fulfil his promise to your Lordship.

I went to speak with him before all the Portuguese; he told me what was happening in the country and the reason why he acted thus: if the Padre and the Portuguese wished to leave, he was prepared to speak before them, since he was a Christian.

The Portuguese were waiting, anxious to leave, dissatisfied and half mutinous at what the Padre told them; I appeased them as best I could, so that neither the King nor the people of the country should know of it. I begged the King to be pleased to make them some present in payment of their labour. He very gladly did so of his own free will. To each he presented fifty pardaos, and four pardaos a month as soldo, with mantimentos, and rice in abundance for their households; and in this manner all remained satisfied.

I then asked him, for the satisfaction of the rest of us, to be pleased to make the Prince and Princess Christians. He begged me for the love of God not to speak of that; he was anxious that your Lordship should make those two Christians with your own hand, and he would give his daughter in marriage to whomever you chose, and he gave immediate orders for five Captains among his chief officers to become Christians. With this I was satisfied, for they are the leading people of this country. The result is that now we are more secure than if the

Prince and Princess had become such. Because, according to what I have learnt, if they had become such, the people of the whole country would have rebelled and we would have had much trouble. In this way I arranged matters with the King and smoothed over everything; for the devil had already brought things into such a state of confusion that I feared all would be lost. Let not your Lordship put your trust in learned doctors or priests or anything else but God alone; it is his will, that this task should be accomplished. I do not wish to boast of my part in this business; your Lordship should inform yourself there from the Padre Frey Antonio; although he is no great friend of mine, I leave the matter to his conscience; and I hope in the Lord God that he will show you what each did on this business.

I have now reported to your Lordship what we have gone through with the King; it is right that I should tell you now what is, on my conscience, my honest belief—that the King is a Christian and is anxious to make his children and all his household and kingdom, Christians; and this must perforce happen if your Lordship comes or sends someone. Necessity, profit, revenge—putting aside the spiritual works of the Lord God—these or each one of them, is now moving him to be a Christian. He is in your Lordship's hand, be pleased to carry out the task. If you do not come in the summer, we shall be undone, and he too. I submit this to you truthfully as I understand and see it; I leave the matter in your Lordship's conscience; for you sent us here to write to you the truth: because so important is your coming for this island and the Christians therein, that beyond doubt all will be Christians. For the King of Batecalou and of Triquana Male have ambassadors here, who wished to be Christians. We are not attending to that matter as we are few. Similarly there is another lord whose territory adjoins Jafanapatão, and whose seignory extends over twenty or thirty

leagues. Also there are other Lords, kinsmen of the Princes who died there. Further, the King of Cota and Madune Pamdar are greatly troubled about your Lordship's coming; the moment is auspicious and they cannot fail to be so. Jafanapatão has done us great wrong; this King is asking your Lordship to place his son there. These works so marvellous has the Lord God begun in your Lordship's time. May he be pleased in his boundless mercy to inspire you to decide what is most to his sacred service.

I am also not giving your Lordship details of what we underwent on this voyage and of the expenses I incurred thereon: it lasted from the 15th of January till the 25th of April. I started from Guoa in a catur of mine with fifteen Portuguese at my own cost, and came to Cochin where I found the Padre Frey Antonio. He was far from wishing to come as he told me that the Princes were dead, and he had not the courage; the truth was, because there were no ships or men or money to do this. As it seemed to me to be for the service of the King our Lord and of your Lordship, I was willing to do this without hope of reward and at the expense of myself, my kinsmen and friends. I stole a fusta in Quochin and with the catur I collected the rest of the men and gave them food for one month while I remained at Quochin, and started with them on the 15th of February, and on the 20th reached Beadala, where the Padre wished to stop, telling me your Lordship had written to him to remain there with Migell Ferreira.

All this was his fear; I pressed him and made him accompany me as I thought that thus he served your Lordship more effectively. At all the ports we passed till we reached Ceilão, I spent much money on food, refreshments, arms and everything the men needed, for in no other way could I take them, as the voyage was so perilous and everyone tried to frighten us. With this toil I brought them till we reached the Island of Ceilão, where we arrived at night. As we made our way along the coast

we struck on a rock and had our fusta broken to pieces and were forced to put in at Quolombo where was the Guarda Mor Antonio Ferreira: we begged him for assistance and help, especially in vessels: he would not do anything for us, but only raised difficulties. The evil-tongued say that this was owing to the bribes which the King gave him.

When I saw myself hindered and nearly undone, on his advice I started for Galle twenty leagues away, hoping to find vessels there; though he had two fustas he would not give me any.

On our reaching Galle all the people abandoned the land and took to flight, but a few women of the chief people whom we seized fell into our hands. Some people came, and with them I secured a large new parao which was there, and bought a fusta, and in twenty days had them filled with food, calazes, and everything that was necessary. On these I expended much money and much labour of my person, receiving no help from anyone but the Lord God. Then I set sail till we reached Yala and landed on an unoccupied spot. Here we beached one of the fustas: the other, owing to its large size, could not be beached, and I despatched it with my baggage on the way to Choromandell.

We alone with our arms by our sides and with a small stock of food, began our march, and after thirteen days on the road, reached the cidade of Camde. On the way we suffered much hunger and much more thirst; for two days we lived on the fruits of the forest, and at two other places we met the troops of Madune Pamdar, who had come to stop us on the road. They did not trouble to fight with us, as we were coming well secured because I was bringing with me some Christians of Ceilão and we were a large body of people. In this fashion it pleased the Lord God that we should all get through in safety without any falling ill or anyone dying up till now.

On my arrival the King gave me a collar which was not worth much, and also 400 pardaos towards my expenses. I would not accept anything from him without your Lordship's permission; not only so, but instead I presented him with peças worth 200 cruzados. I shall continue like this till your Lordship sends me orders. I have spent 800 pardaos, of which I shall render an account to your Lordship; for all payments and expenses were on my account, except the provisions which your Lordship ordered to be given me at Cochin from the King our Lord. As for everything else I had no help from anyone, instead they only created many difficulties. The men mutinied; there ran away from me as many men as I brought here. They did wrong to flee; had I brought them it would be quite possible to avoid your Lordship's coming here. This land will not be a small possession. I am not asking your Lordship for a specified merçê: I leave everything to your conscience.

The Padre Frey Antonio is returning there, but it is through fear of staying here and not through zeal for the service of God; if that were his anxiety, he is at the time and place for the purpose. Here there is no bread nor wine but only plenty of work and very bad food to eat and worse to drink, with risk of death; that is the reason. If he does go, before God and my conscience it will be against the wish of the King and of all the rest of us.

There is nothing more at present to write to you. May the Lord God increase your Lordship's length of life and your prosperity, for his service.

Written at Camde, the 27th of May, 1546.

Andre de Souza.

To the Senhor Governor, my Senhor.

Col. de São Lourenço. III. ff. 369—372.

DOCUMENT 28

Nuno Alvarez Pereira to the Governor.

Senhor,

It is necessary for your Lordship to know what happened about this King's matters from the time that he sent his ambassador from here till the arrival of the Padre Frey Antonio and Andre de Souza, and also some incidents which occurred after their coming.

Some time in November 1545 a letter came to me here from the Padre Frey Joam de Vylla de Comde, signed by the Padre Frey Antonio Padram as well; this was the first letter from the padres that I saw here after I came to this country. He told me that the Padre Frey Antonio was going to your Lordship with a certain message which I had sent from here on the orders of this King. At the time it might have been six or seven days after the Ambassador whom your Lordship saw there had set out. When I knew from the Padre Guardião that he was at Cota, I told this King of his coming there and what was the position of the frades among us, and other details about them which were necessary for the matter on which I was engaged. Consequently letters came and went and each time things grew warmer without any other help save from the Lord God and the Father Guardião and Duarte Teyxeira, as will appear by their letters which I have here.

Some time in February I sent from here a moço of mine to go and find the Padre Guardião, with letters and an olla containing an assurance of what we so much desired. And as in my letter I begged him to come with as many as possible and owing to the war this could not be done, the padres arranged that the Padre Frey Francisco, an Italian, and another, a companion of his,

should come with the said moço of mine by the road from Yala. They were arrested by Madune's people and they went through what the Padre Frey Francisco has written to your Lordship. He reached this city on the first of March; on the ninth of the said month, two hours before dawn, we made the King a Christian; he is named Dom Manoell. On the next day which was the 10th, on the King's orders, I sent from here the news of what had been done to the Padre Guardião, in order that he might send word to your Lordship at once from there, and that if there was a force of men at Cota, he should make the announcement with great pomp; and if there were no such force, that he should keep it concealed till he saw his opportunity.

On the 14th of the said month the letters were delivered at Cota to the Padre Frey Antonio, owing to the Guardião being at Seitavaca to obtain the release of Frey Francisco's companion, whom they were keeping there in prison. The Padre Frey Antonio took the letters, as at the time he had arrived from India with Andre de Souza; and the Padre Guardião did not get the news till the 24th of the said month, owing to which, as he wrote to me, he was unable to send word to your Lordship.

On the 17th of March there came here a message and letters from Andre de Sousa and the Padre Frey Antonio that they had reached Columbo and were going from there to Guale, and that the King should send them word there as to where he wished them to proceed. I wrote to him immediately on the King's orders that it should be to no other place but Trycanamale.

When the Padre Guardião received the news,—which as I mentioned before was on the 24th of the said month — he made the announcement with as much distinction as is was possible to do in the country. In consequence of the satisfaction felt by the people, a man who they tell me is named Antonio Goncalves, offered himself at once

with his fusta; also a certain Myguell Fernandez, a casado at Cota, with as many people as the said Myguell Fernandez could get together, which they told me would be twenty men. They set out immediately for Gualle in search of Andre de Souza, who was waiting there as he had few people—they were not more than ten men. The weather did not give them a chance and they returned to Columbo. The Guarda Mor Antonio Ferreira was anxious to prevent their coming, for he never helped us over this matter but always raised difficulties; yet in spite of everything they made their way by the other coast of the Island to Trycanamale, where they thought Andre de Souza either was or was coming, for so the King had directed him.

Andre de Souza told me that immediately he came to Yala, he beached a paro which he brought, and sent the fusta with a Portuguese to Trycanamale. As soon as I received the message that Andre de Souza had started from Guale, I set out from here on the King's orders in search of him with a large number of people, among whom I had more than 500 men to carry the baggage; for the news had come to us here that a large number of people were coming. The Captain whom I took with me stopped in a district of this King named Tapare with the bulk of the men; I continued from there along the road to Trycanamale, which might be twelve leagues, with the 500 men for the baggage whom I spoke of previously and 200 fighting men. We came within three leagues of Trycanamale, for I thought he had there 150 Portuguese by the news which had been given us here.

And as at Trycanamale there were not more than 13 or 14, the people of the country stood without fear and caused a panic among my men by their messages, through which I came near to an unfortunate disaster. On Good Friday I was left without a single man, save only four moços of mine; not that anyone fought with us, but they

sent to tell them they were coming to fight. And because that place had four leagues to cross before reaching the inhabited districts of this King, they were anxious to withdraw in time. At this crisis there arrived letters from the Padre Frey Francisco and a message from the King to the effect that Portuguese had come by way of Yala and were already within the territory of this King. On this news I took some men with me and returned to where the Captain was with the rest; and during the whole of this time, my message could not go past those men, nor I see his, because of the guards maintained in the land.

On Friday after Easter, which was the 30th of April, I reached this city. I found there Andre de Souza and the Padre Frey Antonio and his companion, with 38 Portuguese. They told me they had been well received and entertained by the King, and that they were waiting for me for the rest. On Saturday we had an interview and I read your Lordship's letter which the King had not seen till then, because up till that time he had not spoken to them more than once only. On the Sunday after Easter, at night, we made Christians of five of the chief Captains, among whom is a nephew of the King, Mudaliyar Dara, who is named Dom Joam de Crasto; another, named Canaca Mudaliyar, is given the name Martin Afonço, as it chanced that for a whole year previously the King always called him by that name. Another Mudaliyar is named Pero Vaz; a fourth Nunallvares, and the last Andre de Souza. I told the King on Saturday that we had arranged to make them Christians, that he should arrange to try and make their wives and also the Queen, his wife. As for the Prince and Princess and the rest of the Household, he wished to keep them for your Lordship or for the Senhor Dom Alvaro.

There was opposition among the kinsmen of the Captains and their wives, and there was going to be a riot in

the course of which the Prince was about to go outside by the door and take the road to the Church, because they were not willing to do what was agreed upon. Over that matter I had on that day great toil, and owing to the action of the Prince, those whom I mentioned above became Christians; this was due to there being few Portuguese here and the country at the time being half in revolt owing to the wars of Madune. For this reason the wives and the Queen did not become Christian, as they are waiting for the large force which this King so desires, both to take his revenge and also for other reasons. When this was finished the King made a present of 3,000 pardaos and more in coin for the people and the expenses, and this was to be given in the manner which the Padre Frey Antonio laid down, and divided among fifty Portuguese whom he wanted here till the arrival of your Lordship; and he further gave everything else which was needed, and attendants for all. The Padre directed that there should be given to each of the men who were here a pam of gold, which weighed 20 calamjas, and 2,000 fanams of the country. To Andre de Souza were given 600 odd pardaos in coin, namely, 400 for his expenses, because the King said he would give him a *merçê*, and 200 odd for Pero Vaz Quetoz and Guomes Ferreira.

Andre de Souza said that he did not want this money if all his expenses were not paid, and he told me that they exceeded 700 pardaos. The Padre assured me that on his conscience he paid him extravagantly; the rest of the Lascarins said that it was ample. Pero Vaz and Guomez Ferreira say he gave them little.

Matters are standing thus for ten or fifteen days without anything being finished; everything is breaking over me. The Lord knows what I am suffering so that the King should not learn of our dissensions. For these reasons nothing is being done; the men who came to Trycanamale

are fighting, and we have no message from them if they are living or had left as they had no port or road open.

The Padre Frey Antonio says that he is anxious to go to Sam Tome to cross from there by land to your Lordship. He is unwilling to leave his companion, the Padre Frey Francisco, and he has no interpreter of ours. I know that with his going there awaits me heavy toil; may it please our Lord to give me strength to bear it till your Lordship decides.

As for the affairs of Cota, on the 23rd of May there came here letters in reply to others which had been sent from here; and these were the first which came after the arrival of Andre de Souza. In them the Factor Miguell de Carvalho wrote to Andre de Souza and the Padre Frey Antonio and to me that an agreement had been arrived at there with the King of Cota for the immediate marriage of his grandson with the Princess, as they had there many people who were going to Maçalapatam with horses and had gone overland. Andre de Souza pressed me over that matter. The Padre Guardião wrote to me that he had never found the King of Cota so yielding, and that he did not wish to let him return to Columbo, and that he now had with him many talks, although previously he was angry with him.

The King wrote to this King matters which were not in accordance with what he told the Portuguese there, and is sending to ask him if it is true that he is a Christian as the Portuguese are saying there, a matter which he does not believe: because Blood wonderful as his and so related to the Sun that there is no other more lawfully so in this country, how can he believe that he is going to be guilty of so terrible a disgrace? Even if he sent to say so to him, he would not believe it, but it was only the result of his quarrel with Madune and because the King did not interfere in the recent war to stop his fight-

ing with him: that this King knows well how he sent for the frades to come from Portugal but he did not for that reason at once become a Christian. He advised him how he should act without thus ruining himself and the whole country; and various other matters to the same effect.

All this is in the olla which he sent to this King, while there he tells the Portuguese that he considers everything completed, as they wrote in their letters. I am writing to the Padre Guardião by this King's order how your Lordship should cause him to labour for the conversion of the King of Cota if it is possible to finish with him; and as regards the marriage, hopes and advice till your Lordship's arrival: this is in secret, so as not to get into trouble with those who are more powerful here and desire otherwise.

As for Ceitavaca, they have there two contos and 400,000 people of the country, and nine pedras and other pieces, and two alifantes: and there is one female elephant in his stables which is a source of distinction to him. Also they would have taken the Princess and more if your Lordship should not have sent assistance.

There is now there a message from this King in reply to another which Madune sent here with his men. This King's men have not returned yet, and in the despatch which he sent to Madune from here, he told him, in addition to other matters, to return him his money and everything else which he had caused him to spend without reason; and if he were not willing to do this, he should send him without delay a cabaya in the Portuguese style and a barrete, and he would be satisfied with that.

There are various other matters which it is necessary to report to your Lordship, for they refer to the Christianity and there is a strong movement in this Island for the people to adopt it. As I do not know how to sum these

up in a few words, I omit them, reminding your Lordship with reference to the said matters, of the necessity of your coming.

The King is writing to your Lordship his old brief of credence which comes within this, and referring to his letter. Similarly the Prince is writing for himself, which letter also is coming within this: he commands me on his part to tell your Lordship that he desires you to come, to give him this immense honour. I have told him that your Lordship has reserved an immense honour for him, and that it seems to me in truth that he will always find kindness there, and that they should instruct the Padre Frey Antonio. He spoke to him and entrusted his affairs with your Lordship to him; and similarly the Queen and the Princess also commended themselves.

The King is sending your Lordship that Ambassador of his who is a member of his Household and held in esteem and trusted by him. He instructs him to ask your Lordship to come, or the Senhor Dom Alvaro. He will bring you news of what he sees. The King further orders that there should go with him his man Antonio Callaço who is taking one of these vias, so that if the Padre Frey Antonio is not able to get through, this Antonio Callaço may go with this message; and even if the Padre goes, this man accompanies him. He is a good man as far as I have seen of him. I think he will tell your Lordship the truth of what he saw here if the Padre does not go.

He also orders that there should go a moço who was mine, as he is the godfather of the King who is at Trycanamalle, with the people whom I mentioned before if they are still to be found. He was the Topaz and godfather, and in taking the news of his conversion to Cota he went with those people to Trycanamale; he is the man who came with the Padre Frey Francisco, regarding whom I speak elsewhere.

As to the rest of the matters which are taking place here, your Lordship should inform yourself from the Padre Frey Antonio; and if he fail to come, Antonio Calaço will tell your Lordship of what is happening, as the King and the Prince so ordered him.

Jesus Christ, all powerful, add to the life and prosperity of your Lordship for his sacred service.

From this Camde the 29th of May, 1546.

Written by command of the King and also signed by him.

In two vias.

The Padre Frey Antonio is not going, for reasons which have taken place here, and which the Padre Frey Symão will relate to your Lordship if he gets through, as the King requested him to undertake this task.

(In Sinhalese) Sri

The King.

Nuno Alvarez Pereira.

For the Lord Governor.

Second Via.

Col. de São Lourenço III pp. 366—368.

DOCUMENT 29

Frey Antonio Padram to the Governor.

Senhor,

May grace and peace be with your Lordship. I Frey Antonio, a servant without profit in Jesus Christ, commend myself to your prayers.

We started from Cochim on the 18th of February thirty five men, in a fusta chartered for thirty pardaos. We reached Maurao in the Pescaria where the Captain was, and there we inquired as to what was happening in the Island. We got for news that the King of Quande had submitted to Madune on paying him 20,000 or so pardaos and other peças, by an arrangement that he should stop the war against him; and he further demanded from him his daughter and his crown; the which daughter was to be given at the end of the year, namely, in March or by the end of April.

We started for Qolumbo to obtain more certain news and at sea one midnight we ran the fusta on a reef in such fashion that we thought ourselves lost, but our Lady took us out of there. The fusta kept the pump working right through for two days and nights up to Columbo, where it remains beached.

There Andre de Sousa began to show himself in the guise of Captain and (to assert) that he brought those men at his expence. And he spoke to the King of Ceylam and said that he gave them 20,000. I do not know what did and what did not pass with the men; and to me the King spoke and advised us to be on our guard against Madune and that we should go by Triquimalle, which was outside his territory. And since the King of Quande at that stage said the advice was good, we set out in a champana as far as Gale: it was so unsatisfactory that

we went on land there. Andre de Sousa bought a fusta for seventy pardaos, and arranged for the parao of a champana, and sailors, at his expence, and we started again. It was loaded with blacks from his knowing them in the past and whom we did not hire; it was not through my failing to tell him that the King asked for Portuguese.

We were not able to sail more than fifteen leagues, and there we hauled the parao on land; because it was not possible for the fusta to carry the eighty men she held, the baggage was despatched in her to Triquinamalle. We took the road on the chance that we would find it shorter and less difficult. We walked forty leagues through mountains and forests, so rugged that I have not seen the like of them before nor do I expect to again.

We reached the territory of the King of Quande without finding anyone to stop us, except that at one passo there were people of Madunc waiting. This was untrue since we saw no one. On entering the territory of Quande we were welcomed and supplied with food, elephants, andors, and men, who accompanied us to within two leagues of where the King was. There the chief people of his kingdom came to receive us and led us up to the cidade. And Andre de Sousa began at once to play the Captain and to assume the airs of one.

We entered within Quande and waited five days, housed and provided for, without speaking to the King, as he said the days were not fortunate. He had a talk with me at two in the night. We went to visit him and offered our services as your Lordship directed. Andre de Sousa began the conversation by saying that he brought there his kinsmen, fidalgos, highly honoured men. We went to the palace with the King, who remained very satisfied and cheerful. There he gave him a sword. They

began at once to ask for money so vigorously that the King saw that we would not go. Nor was what he said in accordance with his speech. He agreed to give 3000 pardaos, which he had offered to whoever should open the port of Triquinimale for him.

Andre de Sousa began to ask for his expences on the road; he wrote that he had an expenditure of 1000 cruzados. ignoring what your Lordship gave him for fifty men for two months; and we were not so many, and we did not spend more than two months. I told him that it could not possibly be so much. He came down to 700 pardaos. I spoke to the Lasquarins: on our conscience we have not found 300. We gave him 400: up till now he is not willing to take that. We gave a hundred to each of his kinsmen, who are dissatisfied. I showed your Lordship's letter to the King and he ordered it to be read to the Portuguese. They were annoyed because in it there is no mention made of his captaincy. He began to say that he had made with your Lordship by word of mouth arrangements other than those. He told them to keep quiet and appointed a Meyrinho, and formed three bandeiras of our King in such fashion that some said that they would go wherever he went. The result was that the documents which your Lordship gave me, of such honour, and the favours you conferred on me, for which the Lord repay you, since they were to help his holy religion, profited me but little here, and they wished to drive me, who am a Frade, altogether out of the land. The King kept me back, and seeing their intention, showed them the letter. He gave me permission to go to look after his interests, and then told me not to go and gave me a house like his own, and I keep in touch with him, admonishing and chiding the Portuguese, warning them as is my custom not to set an evil example in a new country, to wit, that they should not go by night to the city nor show so much thirst for money, a matter at which

the King is scandalised. He directed me to send my companion to your Lordship, and he will tell you.

It behoves me to give your Lordship and the Lord Bishop an account of the truth about the religion and the country, and thus I give it to you truthfully that you may know what can be made use of there.

We came to Qande on the Thursday of the Washing of Feet. We found the King become a Christian and no one else, by night and in an undignified manner, at the importunity of Nuno Alvarez who told him that he had no other means of safety against Madune, unless he became a Christian, when he would at once obtain Portuguese. They sent to Cota for a Frade, Frey Franciscano, an Italian, a good padre, who baptised him thus. As he became a Christian by night so he remains in the darkness of night, with all his customs, without receiving or wishing for our teaching. He does not know to make the sign of the Cross nor is he willing that any member of his household should be made a Christian. He had that done to five of the principal men against their wish, that they might not revolt against him; these formerly visited us, but not now.

The King gives this reason, that he is waiting, and when the Governor or his son comes, he will make everyone Christian as he would have the power to defend himself. He wishes for three things from us, namely honour, the safety of his Kingdom, and vengeance on his enemies. None of these can be achieve without your Lordship or greater assistance from you. As to his religion and the salvation of his soul, there is nothing at present till he sees the matters which he desires. He is now old, old as a heathen. The Prince his son is of the age of the one who died there; but he is strongly built, skilled in arms, a man of few words, and intelligent. He says that he is not going to be a Christian by stealth; that when your Lordship comes or sends for him to this

Island, he must go and meet you and entrust himself to you. At present he wishes to learn; of him we can take account though he is still a new plant. The people are well disposed towards him but dislike his father, who affords reason for that; your Lordship must see of what weight this is; and also provide for the honour of God and our holy religion.

My poor judgment and opinion is this, that if your Lordship is able to come now to Jafanapatam, you should come and place this Prince there; and from there return to Goa, and keep in touch with the King. He will come to meet you at any port you wish, as he is saying. Your Lordship sees this island is entirely stirred, and when he realises your power he will be on your side and keep the country quiet. If you or your son Dom Alvaro do not come everything will be discredited, and we shall turn back from the work we have begun. The last resort is a Captain such as Dom Jorge de Crasto with a force of 300 men or more.

The country is very rugged: it is not possible to come within thirty leagues of it by sea and by way of Madune it is twenty. The people are kindly, food is bad, the water cold; few care to remain here in this depressing place hemmed in by mountains. Everything is in the King's hands. The inhabitants are poor; it is impossible to write and describe everything. When your Lordship comes or sends someone, I shall say who is Nuno Alvarez and what he deserves, as he is the chief and because of the toil and disappointments he suffers over the Portuguese. Also they are anxious to see him outside the King's commands.

Done this seventh of June, 1546.

My compliments to the Secretary,

Your unworthy servant

Frey Antonio Padrão.

The King is sending to your Lordship an ambassador; he is a man whom he values, and with him and the Frade is my nephew; and for the love of me make him a Canon.

For the Senhor Governor from Frey Antonio Padram.

Col. de São Lourenço, T. III. ff. 364—365 v.

DOCUMENT 30

Andre de Sousa to the Governor

Senhor,

After I had written this other letter to your Lordship incidents occurred here as a consequence of which we agreed that the Padre Frey Antonio should go; because he is going owing to his dissatisfaction with the country and with the King; for he found that he was already a Christian but does not observe his Christianity. The reason why and the manner in which he had already become one I have previously reported to your Lordship in my others, and it cannot fail to be thus so long as your Lordship does not come or increase the number of Portuguese, and this we were never able to get into his head.

So one day he went to the palace of the King and in public assembly handed over the papers to him and so did the rest of us; of these the King took charge, and he entrusted them to me, and the padre must wait as he was not willing to give him permission so long as your Lordship did not give your approval. The rest of us also were of opinion that he should not go pending a message from your Lordship, since you ordered him to hand over every thing without restriction to me at Cochim. And I brought him and the men and incurred all the expences, as I have written to your Lordship in another letter.

All this I consider well spent as in your Lordship's time I am serving God and the King our Lord. And being satisfied with this, I did not accept anything from the King for my expences or as a *merçê*, for you know that it was not avarice which brought me here. I beg your Lordship, that you give me the *merçê* of entrusting to me a voyage to Bengala in a ship of Cayro or in a fusta and from there to Ormuz, to help me to reduce my debts. Because it is now two years since the Princes, whom God keep, came. With this voyage, I exceed 2000 cruzados of debt.

Let your Lordship remember my services, that for these twenty three years I am going about these parts without any merçê being rendered to me.

What I more urgently entreat from your Lordship is that if it is not possible for you to come to this country, send a man to take charge of these Portuguese, for I cannot venture on that any more. They are going about here quite out of control and utterly reckless. It is not sufficient to know to govern them; there is need of the greater powers of your Lordship for that purpose, and he who has to govern them must have those powers. I do not venture to govern them and so evil a land as this. The greatest favour which I can obtain is permission to leave the country. I shall wait for this till September, and if a message does not come from your Lordship, I shall hand the men over to the King and go away. This is not such a country or King or Portuguese that any but men without soul or conscience should be sent here.

I am not writing to your Lordship to complain of Frey Antonio, since it is enough to know his condition. He is old and narrow minded. The King does not get on well with him owing to his condition.

Other matters I omit till when your Lordship comes, but, on God and my conscience, the King is much worse; nothing else is happening in the country.

We have more news, that the King of Cota and Madune are combining to fight with us; we are ready: although our stock of powder is scanty, we shall do our duty as loyal Portuguese and true Christians.

May the Lord God increase the days of your Lordship's life and your prosperity, for many years.

Written in Camde this 10th of June 1546.

Andre de Sousa.

For the Senhor Governor, my Lord, from Andre de Sousa.

DOCUMENT 31

Miguell Fernandez to the Governor.

Senhor,

Your Lordship will know how on the 9th of March the King of Camde was made a Christian by a Frade of São Francisco who went there by land as he was summoned by him: his conversion was announced and your Lordship sent Frey Antonio and Andre de Sousa, being satisfied with this King, although it was a small incident in so great a matter; because, as for the King of Cota and the other Kings of the Island, he crushed them with this news; as it is to the honour of our Lord God, may he be pleased that from this King may arise the inspiration for all the Kings of the Island to attain the very truth.

Thus, because the King was a Christian, and there was unpleasantness both from the foreigners and from his natives, as they were not satisfied with his conversion, he sent to ask and request that on the part of the King our Lord and of your Lordship, they should help him in the need in which he stood. The Padre Guardião supported the request as being a religious and as his cloth demanded in the service of God. He by sermons and appeals urged the need in which this King stood, and that as we were Christians and this affected our religion, we were bound to assist him. Therefore when I viewed these matters, that they gave hope of the whole Island becoming Christian, I decided to go there with the Padres, leaving my wife and children and all my property neglected. I took this rash decision to go, after consultation with Antonio Ferreira, the Guarda Mor; for it seemed to me that in this manner your Lordship was served, as it was a matter which affected God, the fear and service of whom

are found in your Lordship more than in any man born. And may it please the Lord that the treasure which you will take from India will be that in your time this Island become Christian: with the help and support of your Lordship will be accomplished a very great work.

My Lord, I set sail from Ceilão in a fusta with twenty Portuguese, myself supplying them with all expences. We arrived at Triquinamale where the King had asked help to be sent, and there I waited for Andre de Sousa because at the time I started from Columbo, it was not possible to go by way of Guale, where Andre de Sousa stood, for the winds were unfavourable. From there I sent him a message that I was coming to go in his company and I went by the Baixos, calculating on waiting for him at Triquinamalle, where I remained expecting him. Seventeen days later there touched there a fusta in which Andre de Sousa had come; only one man came in charge of it, and he told me Andre de Sousa had landed with all the men of his company at Galla, fifty leagues from the port of Triquinamale and proceeded from there by land to Quande. I have no other news of him, because the Lord who is in charge of the port of Triquinimalle was obedient to the King of Camde, and after he became a Christian he is incited by the other Kings, and being assisted by help from them, he is blocking the port and the road to Camde in such fashion, that out of the four I sent from there to the King, not one has come, nor from the Portuguese.

This went on for fifty days without their giving us on land any thing for my money, and at the end of that time, though I had done them no harm, they decided to get rid of us and began to fight with us. Consequently it became necessary to go on land: here there came out at us more than 500 men with swords and daggers: but our Lord was pleased that we should beat them and we were saved by a miracle: for the struggle was such that

a frade who was going with me had to come to the rescue, and it fell to his share to kill three.

And because three men had wounded me and food was running short, and for the many days I waited there at this port without receiving any message, nor did I expect any as circumstances were against us, I set sail and made my way to Neguapatam.

Here I find Christovão d'Ourrea as Captain and I reported to him the need in which the King of Camde stood and that he was a Christian; and of the Portuguese from whom I had no message; that he should send some people with the others whom I brought, and that I would return to the Port to get news of the Portuguese and to help the King, for any assistance at this crisis was a great matter: because with less than 300 men it was possible to go to Camde by way of this Port, and that against the wish of the Lord of the country.

I offered Christovão d'Ourrea that I would bring 800 pardaos from my house and that I was willing to supply all the expences of the ships and men on my account: and this because your Lordship stood too far away to send help in a short time. He told me he could not take action without your Lordship's permission, for which reason I gave up the idea of returning there.

I send this report to your Lordship that with the knowledge of what has happened you should give him such help as you consider fit.

Our Lord increase the life and prosperity of your Lordship as to him seems well.

From this Neguapatão, the tenth of June 1546.

Miguell Fernandez.

For the Lord Governor.

DOCUMENT 32

Migell Ferreira to the Governor.

Senhor,

When I started from India I went to Calle, according to your Lordship's orders, and spoke with the Bramene who is the heir of Jafanapatão, and after discussing with him many matters on behalf of your Lordship, he was willing to become a Christian at once with a son he had, a grown up man, and his grandsons and granddaughters, and several of his kinsmen,—Bramenes, and men of position: and he was also willing to come on board with me immediately.

Frey Antonio refused to wait here and went on, because they had stolen a march on him in Ceillão, and I had no one who could make a Christian nor was it possible to take so many people on board. I there left him with this decision till I could inform your Lordship of it.

As soon as I came to this San Thome I sent a patamar to your Lordship; that is now 80 days ago. Fifteen days later I sent another, and up till now no reply has come from your Lordship, nor without it.

The news, Senhor, of this country is that there have passed from Cape Comorin by way of here many ships and fustas bound for Bengalla, the Kingdom of Oureça, and Maçullepatão. On this Coast of Choromandell there would be 700 or 800 men; in this São Thome and in Negapatão, there are more than 600 men; in Maçulleupatão and the other Ports, there would be 150 to 200; and in the ships, 1000 men; also at the Pescaria they say there are many people. Already Graviell de Tayde has published among them on this coast that they must take the road to India to your Lordship.

Senhor, Gonçallo Pacheco came to this São Thome in a champana with the King's pepper; his vessel went inwards and was wrecked in the Pescaria. Such was the pilot she had, because such was the man the Chief Pilot assigned to the King's ship. And it might be very quick for a cheylla.

Here in this Coast there is nothing else but one naveta in which he can go with the King's pepper, and that belongs to two casados, very respectable people of this settlement, who have nothing else but their naveta. He says he has brought no money with which to buy this, and he laid it on me to arrange the matter. I shall do everything I can to put through this business of the King's Fazenda, although in my opinion, much of it will be lost. And because a message cannot come from your Lordship so speedily, I told Gonçallo Pacheco to place the question in council with Gavriell de Taide and the other people, and let God decide for them what was best.

Now three or four days ago there met Symão de Bryto, nephew of Ruy Gomcallves de Cominha, and Francisco de Freitas and a Mistico, a kinsmen of Francisco de Freitas, and Jorge Velho and Ruy de Sella. And Jorge Velho and Ruy de Sella and Tristão Feraz stood without swords. This was at nightfall: all were seated and Francisco de Freitas and Symão de Brito proceeded from argument to argument in such fashion that Symão de Brito pulled the other off, and Francisco de Freitas fell, and Simão de Brito gave him two or three wounds, and the mistiço came from behind and struck with a sword Symão de Brito, from which he at once died. They have withdrawn to a Church where they are now, and an inquiry into the incident was commenced at once; and everything stands thus till they refer it to your Lordship so that you may know what is taking place here in this land.

The Lord prolong the days of your Lordship's life and increase your prosperity. I kiss your Lordship's hands.

From this São Thome, today the 17th of June 1546.

Migell Ferreira.

For the Senhor Governor, my Lord.

Col. de São Lourenço, T. III. ff 356—357.

DOCUMENT 33

Goncalo Pacheco de Sousa to the Governor.

Senhor,

I came here to this town of San Thome as I was wrecked on the 15th of the month of June; for while the officers of the ship were thinking that we were doubling the Island of Ceylão, we came to be making our way within, opposite to Mosell, which is the King of Jafanapatam's land. And seeing the coast at intervals, as it is very low, we rode at anchor in six fathoms during the day, hemmed in by sand banks and very close to the Baixos of Chilao, with the wind so stormy and seas so terrific that no one thought that the vessel would be able to hold out for three days, for every thing there was living rock.

We waited there three days and after all agreed that we had no chance, I went with the batell on land, leaving the vessel.

And as the country was at war with us, we got no help from the people: God ordained that there should come to us in an almadia an honoured black who lives four or five leagues from there, a Christian, Duarte de Myranda by name. He took us up a Rio and accompanied us to Beadala, from where I at once sent word to the Captain of the Pescaria who was at Tuticorin. That night I went on board a vessel immediately with all the people, both those who had come with me and people of the sea and from many champanas and tones, and I went at once to the vessel on the next day. I found her with the rudder and thirty pedaços broken and one cable snapped.

All the people of the country agreed that she was beyond help from the first day she got there. I began at once to discharge all the cargo and artillery, and stored

everything in the pagode of Remanamcor, and I waited there for a message from Aires de Figueyredo. He at once sent two captures with a nephew of his to help me. As the weather was heavy it was not possible to get to the ship, and he stopped at the entrance of the Rio of Manar opposite the vessel: he did not wait long before she came on her side; she snapped five cables, and your Lordship may credit it that she held out so long that all the people of that country were amazed. Aires de Figueyredo's nephew remained there to recover the anchors and articles belonging to the vessel which could not be abandoned.

I, as the men were now beginning to fall sick, at once loaded a vessel of the Moors with all the cargo and artillery of His Highness and the men, and made my way to this town of São Thome where I am.

To relate to your Lordship the trouble which the men of this vessel and I went through is not necessary; only be sure that it was not possible to do more than I have said, except that the pilot could have been better; because I believe he knew nothing; as it was so late and they tell me that patamares cannot go or come. Owing to the wars and with the advice of all the people of this country, and as I think that your Lordship will regard it in your service and for the advantage of his Highness, I have decided to buy a navio which is here, for the King; it is very cheap; as soon as she goes, with the cargos which I am taking from here to Pegu profit will be obtained; apart from that I am completing my voyage and doing what your Lordship orders me, in going to give over the ambassadors; and further I shall see there the lacre which they assert is available there in abundance. For all this they declare the ship is suitable, so that the King gains much and I am doing what your Lordship orders me.

Your Lordship should know that Miguell Ferreira is giving me all help and assistance here both in regard to

the ship and also as to everything else which I need for His Highness' service: the which I am not finding here in anyone else, but only everyone is looking to his own profit.

If it be the case that the patamar is able to go, I stand quite ready to do everything which your Lordship commands me. I rather beg your Lordship that, if there be war there as they are saying here, you should be willing to avail yourself of the services of myself and of the ten men whom I have here, for in this you will do me a great favour; and if this be so for your service, your Lordship can make use of the vessel and of those who go in her, with the cargo I have here.

I kiss your Lordship's hands. This 18th of June 1456.

Your Lordship's servant

Gomcalo Pacheco de Sousa.

To the Senhor Governor and my Lord from Gomcalo Pacheco de Sousa.

Col. de São Lourenço, T. III. ff. 354 and 354 v.

DOCUMENT 34

Migell Ferreira to the Governor.

Senhor,

On the 12th of this month of July a patamar came to this São Thome and gave me a letter from your Lordship and another for Cristovão Doureya with a message, which I sent on to him at Negapatam. Your Lordship informs me that Dio, Bacaïm and Chaull are being besieged; here we have already for more than a month regarded this as certain, and I am waiting for many days ready with a fusta and my sailors, so that no sooner the weather gives some little chance I may start at that hour to accompany your Lordship in the pilgrimage on which you are going.

Your Lordship wrote to me that if my health did not permit me, I should remain behind; it is just such a condition that will make it a pilgrimage. Senhor, the moment the news arrived, I immediately made a Will that if I should die before starting, they should put me in a coffin and take me to that armada of your Lordship. I at once wrote to Christovam Douria and to Antonio Mendes to get ready all the men, for there are many there; and here at Sam Tome there are 500 men, and in the whole Coast there may be 1000; I do not know in what way Gravriell d'Atayde will deal with them, and I hope in God that I shall get there quickly with two dozen espingardeiros, my sailors, to serve your Lordship in what you command me.

Senhor, a letter came here which tells me that your Lordship is annoyed with Goncalo Pacheco because he left his ship and went on land. He who gave your Lordship this information has not correctly reported what took place. In an Auto which he drew up when the ship

was in this condition, you will see the correct account of what occurred. I am in a position to tell your Lordship that with this little cargo of the King and with these ambassadors whom your Lordship is sending to Pegu, he has passed through much hardship.

I continue praying to our Lord to prolong the days of your Lordship's life and increase your prosperity.

Done this 13th of July, 1546.

Miguell Ferreira.

For the Senhor Governor

Col. de São Lourenço, T. III; ff. 360 and 360 v.

DOCUMENT 35

Migell Ferreira to the Governor.

Senhor,

I reported to your Lordship on two or three occasions how many people had passed to Maçulepatão, the Kingdom of Huraxa, the ports of Bengala and that of Sunda; and on this Coast of Choromandell there will be 1000 men; and each day they are going outside in such fashion that it seems to me your Lordship ought not to wait there for any men but those who should come with me and those whom Cristovão Dourea is bringing; and he is taking them much against their will. So far as I see they pay very little respect to your Lordship's orders here.

The Padre who is coming from Camdea to give your Lordship an account of what is happening there, has arrived here. The people of this Coast are very proud and accordingly pass here in their ships without a licence. Your Lordship can give orders to carry out the business of Jafanapatão and of Ceilão with all the caution which your Lordship will employ for the purpose, and the Padre will give you an account of everything else which occurs here.

The Lord God prolong the days of your Lordship's life and increase your prosperity.

I kiss your Lordship's hands.

From this Sam Tome this 15th day of August, 1546.

Migell Ferreira.

For the Lord Governor.

DOCUMENT 36

King of Ceilão to the Governor.

The Magnifico Dom João de Castro, of the Council of the King my Lord, his Captain General and Governor of India.

I, the King of Ceylão, make known to you that after writing to you it seemed good to me that I should do this, that thereby you might give credit to everything which I for my part say to you, and ask from you. Francisco d'Ayora is the Captain of this Carreira; and because of his character, age, and knowledge of the country I have confidence that he will speak the truth to you in what concerns the service of God and the King my Lord and of me. To him I am giving certain instructions as to what I for my part require from you. Over that matter and everything else which he says to you, give him that credit which you will give to my own person if I were speaking with you. There is no more to say regarding this, because you have so many anxieties that it seems to me necessary to act thus, and the letters which I wrote to you are not a sufficient reminder of what I require from you.

I also request you that with regard to Antonio d'Afonço Sequeira who is here with me and who is now going there to bring the reply to what I have written to you, you will be pleased by your Alvara to appoint him my Escrivão, to write for me the letters which are required for the King my Lord and for you; because I cannot write to you in any other way. The which at various times I desired and you held me in bad account. And with him I shall write what is needed for my service and of the outrages they do to me; and this because of my knowledge

of him, that he will act well and faithfully, as Francisco d'Ayora will tell you. Till now, whatever he does, the Guarda Mors are looking on and I do not want them to be present.

Our Lord increase your life, health and prosperity as you desire.

From this my Cidade of Cota the 17th of November, Antonio d'Afonso Sequeira did this, in the year 1546.

(Tamil) Accept this statement as true, knowing I caused it to be written thus.

(Sinhalese) Sri.

Col. de São Lourenço. T. III; ff. 377 and 377 v.

DOCUMENT 37

King of Ceilão to Francisco d'Ayora.

Francisco d'Ayora, as you are a fidalgo, and are going as Captain of this Carreira, I trust in your kindness to speak the truth to the Governor; therefore I command and require you to discuss these instructions which you are taking signed by me, with the Governor, so that through you he may know the truth.

Item: You should tell him that he wrote and recommended to me, as regards the Frades, that I should give them good fellowship, like one who was ill informed regarding me. You should tell him that when they arrived here from the Reyno I received them with all good will and appointed and gave them for their needs and expenses 200 pardaos each year, the which or part thereof I immediately ordered to be handed to a Portuguese to spend for them, as they were unwilling to receive it from me. Manoel Rodriguez Coutinho who was here as my Guarda, and Amtonio Pereira Topaz, and others, are witness.

Item: He also wrote and recommended to me the Christians; in this also he seems to be ill informed. You can tell him that it is they who act ill towards me, because after they become Christians they render no service or respect to my person or to the Lords of the country, nor do they pay me my dues up till now; they only do much wrong in the country to the heathen. As to which I request that in that matter he should take action as is just.

Item: You should also tell the Governor, in order that he may know what regard I have for their churches which are in my country, that I give their Church of their

Confraria, as a present to your God, fifty pardaos a year during the life time of myself and of my grandson, and apart from that I further gave for the said Church and Confraria ten baars of cinnamon at the time that Duarte Teixeira was Factor here, and further I gave to Antonio Pesoa another ten baares for the Church for articles which they wanted for it. From this, they told me, were made a chalice and a tribolo of silver which he brought in his hand, and they seemed to me very good. They ought to be thankful to the man who made these articles for the Churches.

Item: You should tell him that the Guarda Mores and Factors send their men to my ports to carry on their trade; they cause a great deal of hardship in the country and every day I have complaints against them, and there are offences, but I am unable to control them. I request that men like these should not be kept without my consent and an authority signed by me, so that whenever they do that which they ought not they should be removed from here, and on this subject I have asked for a Regulation.

Item: You should tell him (lacuna) about the Regulations which the King my Lord sent me. As to these I desire that a person who is agreeable to me should have the supervision of them, who would in that matter serve God and the King my Lord and me with authority, so that what he shall say and do shall obtain compliance and they shall not lay the blame on me: this is not meant to do wrong to Christians of the country nor to the Portuguese. The Guarda Mor likes to lay hands on some people: that is not my wish, nor has he authority to do so, for he is my Guarda and Factor. Further they own vessels for which they have to pay direitos. Therefore I request that he will be pleased that I should have this person to do my work for me and to him should be entrusted all the Regulations which the King my Lord has

sent me, and if such a man errs therein, his Lordship will punish him.

Item: Ascertain from the Governor if I have the power to issue licenses to Portuguese and to any others to make champanas and navios. They make them in the country without license from the Governor. For the Guarda Mor says that even if I should wish to issue any, he will not agree, in the absence of another license from the Governor. He should not interfere in my country except regarding naos or navios built on a grant from him. It seems to me reasonable, that such vessels should not be built without his license.

Item: You should request him to be pleased, in case of licenses issued to vessels to come to this Island, that they should be compelled to go to Columbo and not to another port; and there unload and carry on their trade; in order that I too may be able to collect my dues in one single harbour and not at several, for that cannot be done. And when they go to other ports in consequence of the weather not giving them the opportunity, they should not unload the cargo they bring till they have informed the officer who is entrusted with the supervision. If they unload without giving such information, the said cargo should be forfeited to me.

Item: You should ask him to decree by his Alvara that Antonio d'Afonço Sequeira, who is writing for me, should write for me and not another, and that when he is writing neither the Guarda Mor nor the Factor should be present; for very often I desire to write about matters affecting the service of the King my Lord and of myself, but am not able to do so; for which reason they think that I change in what I do and write.

In respect of all this and of everything else which appears to you to be to my service, make your applications and obtain for me decisive orders, for I do not want contradictions to be passed to me. I know that you

are likely to do as I expect, because for the whole time since you came to this country, you know what is occurring here.

From this my Cidade of Cota, the 17th of November. Antonio d'Afonço Sequeira did this, in the year 1546.

Further you should ask for an order from him that no one may buy a black in this land of mine from the others without an *ola* and a license from my Adiguar; and he who infringes this order should forfeit such money to whomever the Governor directs.

You should also ask for the payment of *ordenado* and *mantimento* to Antonio Pereira, Topaz, in accordance with the Patent of the King my Lord; for he is old and has done much service, and has children and a wife to maintain. Tell him that the Factors who are here do not pay him, for which reason he is not able to serve the King my Lord and me. Let him make an order as is right, that the Factors here should pay him out of any money which they have in their control.

Made on the said day of 1546.

(Tamil) Accept this statement as true, knowing I caused it to be written thus.

(Sinhalese) Sri.

DOCUMENT 38

Frey Antonio to the Bishop of Goa.

Senhor,

I delayed writing to your Lordship till now so as to be certain with regard to the conversion of the King of Candea; for I am bound in writing to your Lordship to speak the truth. I examined and saw that everything was a falsity. As soon as he found himself out of the need owing to which he became a Christian and by night, he immediately ignored his Christianity and has no faith in God and is not willing that anyone but the slaves should be converted, and if anyone secretly becomes Christian he sells him at once. I satisfied myself regarding him that he was not carrying out what he promised the Senhor Governor in his letters and agreements. He stated before everyone that he had no knowledge of such letters; that Nuno Alvares wrote them as he liked and made him sign them; and such is the truth with regard to all letters which came there, because I saw him do so. He said that Nuno Alvarez, a humble practising soldado, told him that the Senhor Governor would come to crown him and he would be Emperador over the Island, and everyone would kiss his feet and be his vassals and tributaries, and he would take vengeance on Madune who would return to him the money which he got from him by the treaty of peace; and that he sees none of this, and that the Portuguese will take his lands from him to make his country Christian; when the Senhor Governor accomplishes this, this cannot be, nor is it reasonable or just.

He gave me permission to go and find 300 Portuguese to fight with Madune and to occupy some of his neighbours' lands for the Prince who is poor, and who will

become a Christian not for the love of God but to plunder his neighbour.

The King makes his pagodes as before: Nuno Alvarez and the Frade who baptised him regard him as such, and they will say so if they dare. Here in Columbo no Christians are being made, and those who were made are going back, nor is there anyone to help them. The Portuguese who were with us illustrated well to the King of Candea every aspect of the lust of money and from them he formed serious doubts.

Done in Colombo on the 25th of November 1546.

[Included in Carta 23, ff. 43—43 v, Cartas de Goa a Dom João de Castro.]

DOCUMENT 39

Frey Diogo Bermudes, Vigario, to Dom João III.

Senhor,

The Padre Frey Joam de Villa de Conde, a person most virtuous and zealous about souls, in his devotion and zeal has exposed himself to such great labours and is prepared to bear still greater, for he sees the matters of the Christianity there so neglected, and especially in Ceilão; for that is the chief one in India and the glory of God had begun there, and with his favour and that of your Highness so many thousands have been converted and the number was increasing, and there was great hope of the entire Island becoming Christian. For my sins this has not turned out so; instead everything has been thrown into confusion and disorder. That is not through your Highness' fault, but of those who are here; because, as they came for no other purpose than to look for money, they will give their own souls and the whole of Ceylon to the devil for one toston.

The Christians who abide by their faith see themselves persecuted by their own King and by the Captain and officials and that the Governor does not assist or show favour, so that they can only abandon the faith and turn renegade and abjure their Christianity. For this we are greatly to blame; since with the men we baptise and convert the greatest responsibility lies on us to favour them that they may not apostasize and leave the faith, for that is worse than being heathens.

In this matter your Highness should place reliance on virtuous and zealous religious, who have no other

interest but that of God and who are come to search
not for money, but souls.

* * *

Goa, the sixth day of December, 1546.

Your Highness' Minor Chaplain

Fray Diogo Bermudes, Vigario.

Corpo Chron I. 78. 101. (Extract: Spanish.)

DOCUMENT 40

Frey Symão de Coimbra to Dom João III.

Senhor,

A King called the King of Camde, who lives in the island of Ceilão, sent an ambassador to the Governor, by whom he said that he was anxious to turn Christian with all his people and to be a Vassal of your Highness, and that he also wished to have a Factory in his country. This King lives inland and renders obedience to no one, not even to the King of Cota who formerly was Emperor, because he is a greater Lord and of better caste. And when he sent to say he wished to be a Christian, he was at war with Madune, brother of the King of Cota, who is an enemy of your Highness' affairs, and a great persecutor of our Holy Catholic Faith; for he ordered all the Christians he could catch, to sacrifice to his devils. For this reason also he asked that they should send him some help to protect him. As the Governor was favourably disposed he granted what he asked and sent him forty Portuguese and requested our Padre Custodio to send him two Frades, the Portuguese to assist him, and the Frades to baptise and teach; and I was one of them.

The Governor requested the King of Cota to allow us to pass over some lands to this King; these are not more than two days' journey from where he is; and he further earnestly asked him not to give any help or assistance to his brother; and this he asked as the two were waging this war on the King of Camde; and he emphasized the fact that his brother was opposed to the service of your Highness and was a persecutor of our holy faith, and various other matters. But he did not think fit to comply and thereby forced us to go by way of Triquilamale, which is a hundred leagues from there.

At Gale they gave us letters from the King of Camde which stated that he was already a Christian and was named Dom Manuel, and that a Frade whom he had invited from Cota for the purpose made him Christian, but that the fact was kept secret owing to his people, that they should not kill him, and that he had to continue like that till we should come; also, that he had already made peace with Madune and given him 25,000 pardaos, and that he further demanded from him his daughter and crown; for that reason he begged us urgently to come very speedily to the port of Triquylamale, for there he had people to take us. And when we saw this we made our way with all speed, proceeding from there for some days as far as a Bay named Oupalão beyond which we could not sail; and from there to Camde was thirty leagues by land and we had to pass over half the territory of Madune; but without paying any attention to him we went over them although he did not wish it. Here we underwent much trouble till we reached the territory of the King of Camde, and as soon as we got there, which was on Holy Thursday, we came to where the King stood. And when he learnt of our arrival he sent all his chief men to meet us on the road and at once ordered us to be given one of his chief pagodas, so that we should make a Church of it.

Here on the day of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ we had a procession with such solemnity as we could, and we said Mass with a sermon, a matter never observed in regions so remote and full of every kind of heathendom; he confessed himself a Christian both in his own Kingdom and also outside thereof; and on Sunday after Easter we made five Captains, the chief people of his Kingdom, Christians, with some other people. We were anxious to make also the Prince and the Infanta with the Queen and the wives of the Captains, but rioting and an uproar broke out among the people of the

country, both because they were restless and half in revolt owing to the late wars, as also owing to the said slanders and blasphemies which the King of Cota and Madune and this King ordered to be said of the Portuguese, and also because they saw that they were few. It did not occur to the King of Cota that if he is King, it is your Highness who has maintained him in the Kingdom as he is. Further about him I shall say in its place.

Turning to this King, I say that he made a present to the Portuguese of 3000 pardaos, also giving them houses and everything else for their wants, and also blacks, men and women, to wait on them; he further gives them four pardaos soldo each day, and rice for themselves and their blacks, as much as is wanted, with many other honours and rewards: but they are ill satisfied, for they are not anxious for honour or the faith of God or your Highness' service, but money.

Finally he has placed himself in your Highness' hand with his whole Kingdom, treasure, wife and children, so that in every respect he may fulfil your wishes, even though you bid him go to Portugal or anything else. Of all this he spoke to the Lascarins when they went to see him.

Let not your Highness think that this King made this peace or gave what I mention above because he could do nothing else: for he alone has as many men as Madune and the King of Cota; but he did it as his Captains proved traitors to him and sold themselves for the many bribes Madune sent them; and for this reason he gave him everything. And so his people were making him give his daughter and his crown, and in fact he would have given her if we had not come at the time we did. Because as soon as Madune learnt we were with him, he sent word that he did not want her that year, because it was not a good year.

And since then matters stood in this condition, it was necessary to give an account to the Governor so that he might sanction both what was accomplished as well as what remained to be done; it was impossible to do this unless I went by land, as the rainy season was too advanced for any message to go by the cinnamon ship. Then this King sent me to the Governor with his letters and olas, and the copy of the ola is this:

Ola of the King of Camde to the Governor:

Senhor Governor,

God give you much health: I in this month of June remain in health. I told Nuno Alvarez everything which is in my heart and ordered him to write them to your Lordship, and all that he writes are my words and it is certain that they are true. For that reason I do not write at greater length.

The King of Cota sent to ask for Frades from the King of Portugal to make him a Christian, and after they came he did not wish to be one nor that any of his people should become Christian; and if any one became such, he immediately persecuted him and took away his property. The King of Portugal has given him many merçes and good things, and he never remembered him.

I never knew anything about the Portuguese, but Nuno Alvares has told me a great deal these three years. I am very pleased to learn this and I greatly desire to become their friend, and for that purpose I sent to ask for a Factor for my country and for more padres to make me a Christian; as soon as one came here, I at once became Christian; and further my son and the whole of my household and the rest of the people whom I rule will become so as soon as your Lordship comes to my country. One Portuguese has done all this: your Lordship can see

what great things you can do if you come here, for the whole of this Island will turn to the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

I earnestly request your Lordship to remember me and come quickly or send your son. From that priest you can hear, and somethings from my servant, because everything he says is my word.

God give you much health.

Such are the form and contents of this ola and it is certain that everything which the King writes is the truth and your Highness ought to raise him above all the other Kings of Ceilão and you should show him greater honour than to the King of Cota as he deserves everything; for he is the first heathen King who in these regions is becoming a Christian of his own accord, and for what he has done which I state above and also for the rest which he wishes to do of his own free will. For he says that he wants to have a Factory in his country to pay tribute there, as he wishes to be your Highness' Vassal, and what he will give is this: namely, iron, which is abundant and good in his country; resin; faia for oars: this is abundant in his country and your Highness needs it for the galleys; also elephants.

I do not specify the quantity which he will give of each of these, because so far the Governor has not decided about the Factory; but I am writing as the King told me that of all these he will give as much as the Governor wishes.

If I were to give your Highness a detailed account, that would involve preparing a lengthy process, a matter which Kings and great people much appreciate, because they find that to write at length makes for clearness, and this must be done in cases where it is not possible to state a thing briefly. And, Senhor, even though I see how necessary it is to give you an account of every-

thing which this King has in his land, and of his mode of life, I shall not do so now except briefly; for one thing as I do not know how acceptable that will be to your Highness; for another, that I might not be considered wearisome if I wished to write to you at length. Finally I say that if your Highness had Ceilão for your own, and the Kings thereof as Vassals, as this King is becoming, I am certain you will hold India secure. Because if any harm happen to India, which the Lord God in his mercy forbid, that cannot be set right from any other spot except Ceilão: especially from this Kingdom of Camde. For it is a place so strong, that even if one had the whole of the power of the Turk it cannot be taken, since there is much dense forest, and also every munition of war in great abundance, with much food and meat; for a cow does not cost more than a tanga and a hen five reis. It is overflowing with abundance, as there are found there much pepper and also ginger and numerous forests of cinnamon. As much sugar as you want can be get there; and also it will yield wheat. I mention nothing else, for it seems to me unnecessary.

This King is greatly feared by his people, since if he does not effect what he desires at the moment, he achieves it in his time, as he hopes to do to those who were traitors to him. He is a man of sixty years and does not eat opium or drink arrack, nor does he wish that in the whole of his Kingdom they should do so, a very great matter for these parts, and which greatly prevails in the Kingdom of Cota. He has a son, the heir of his Kingdom, of the age of twenty years; he is a man of whom great things are expected, and with his favour and help much increase for our holy faith. I shall speak more about him at the end of his ola which is also coming here, and I say nothing more of this King since this is sufficient for your Highness to keep a friendly eye on him and that which he has done. You did to the King of Cota what he

does not deserve, for he is so opposed to the spread of our Holy Catholic faith. I am certain that if he had not interfered with his alarms, by this time the whole Kingdom of Camde would have turned to our holy faith; for he did so many things and sent and said so many evil things and calumnies about the Portuguese, to this King, that they threw this King into a state of confusion; because as soon as he knew that he was a Christian, he at once sent to tell him that which follows:

That he could not believe that a King so great and of such exalted caste and so discerning should wish to dishonour himself and commit so serious a mistake as was his becoming a Christian, and that he would turn to a Pariah from being King; he requested him earnestly to send and inform him definitely if it was the truth: he further urged him earnestly not to be anxious to dishonour himself: that he well knew that it was all a pretence due to the war which he was carrying on with his brother, and why had he not acted as he did: telling him that he also had sent to ask for Frades from your Highness to become a Christian, but that after they were in his country he did not wish to become one, so as not to bring dishonour on himself; nor was he willing that any of his subjects should become such; and that he had only sent to ask for them so that your Highness might confirm him and grant him what he wanted; and for that reason he earnestly begged him not to trouble about the Portuguese for they were a set of brigands, and were not coming to his country for any other reason but to destroy and plunder, and that he would not put a collar of gold round his neck because they at once tried to get it from him; and that he should place no confidence in them, as they were good for nothing: and various other matters so foul that I am not able to write them.

The result was that as this King had never seen Portuguese and did not understand us or know our customs,

he was in great confusion and did not place as much confidence in us as was needed, and the Christianity made no progress in consequence of all these impediments I mention above, and various others. Finally, and as matters were in this state, I undertook the task for the honour of the Lord God and the service of your Highness; I came at the bidding of this King through two hundred leagues of country of enemies of our holy faith, for I came through Bisnaga; but when I arrived here the Governor was of the disposition which he had written; for which reason there was not shown that sympathy which was due to a matter so important as was the making one King Christian; nor did he wish to know anything from me, nor did he do more than take the letters which I brought. Yet I lay no blame on him, because the time did not give him more opportunity, since he set out immediately for the siege of Dio, and I do not know what he will do later on.

As among various other matters the King wrote to him and sent to ask him that either he should come to Ceilão or send his son, and that he promised him to make the whole Island Christian: and this he sent to ask him because the Governor, in a letter which he wrote to him through us, promised him to go to Ceilão last September, or to send his son. And I am certain that if the Governor went or sent, the Island of Ceilão in its entirety will be Christian and the King of Cota and his brother humbled as the consequence, since they have no other remedy. For when they should see that your Highness favoured the King of Camde, immediately all the others will desire to be so and the faith of our Lord will be exalted. Let not your Highness think that should this be by force, it will not be good. Because from these first Christians who are the fathers and already old, we do not desire anything, but only from the children and those who will come afterwards; for these children, being now instructed in our holy faith, will teach the fathers whom

they now have and their children when they should obtain them. Your Highness should know that as the result of the King of Cota's alarms, this work now stands becalmed, and it does not come to his mind that it was your Highness who made him King when he was not so but everything was in doubt, for he and his brother had killed their uncle who was King, in order to make themselves Kings. He had our crosses razed to the ground; he does all the harm he can to any man who becomes Christian; one man in his household became a Christian; he took from him everything he had, even the negresses. This man went to India to complain to Martim Affonço, the Governor, who gave him an alvara that the King should return to him what he had taken. He made a mockery of that and would not do so but instead told him that he wished to see what punishment the Portuguese would give him since the man wished to bring dishonour on himself. But the reason for all this is money.

All this account which I give to your Highness is for no other reason than that you may know what is done and what remains to be done through these impediments. And with them all I certify to your Highness in all truthfulness, before God and my conscience, that as soon as this King becomes a Christian, the entire Island was hurrying to be the same and there will be no further delay than for the Governor to decide to come or send his son, for as soon as he comes everything is accomplished, as all are waiting for this.

Leaving this matter I pass on to the Prince of Camde, son of this King, who also is writing to the Governor his letter and ola, the copy of which is this: —

Ola of the Prince of Camde to the Governor.

Senhor Governor,

God give you good health; in this month of June I remain in health. As to the letters which I have

sent you, Senhor, let not your Lordship think they are lying ones because I am not as other Kings. Your Lordship should know that while my father became a Christian by stealth, I shall never become one in such fashion; for I shall be a Sun to cover the whole of my people and also the whole of this Island, as I shall become a Christian openly. But I am not able to write in an *ola* what I have in my heart, so I directed Nuno Alvarez to do that in a letter, and this padre is going there and you can question him about the whole of my heart, since I have told him everything; for after the whole Island knows that I am a Christian, I shall be for all a Standard and everyone will be delighted to be Christian, and then I shall make a Sun of all my people. For the love of God and of Holy Maria, come and make me a Christian, as I greatly desire to be such and it gives me much pleasure to write this.

Further your Lordship should know how the mother of Jugo and my mother were two sisters, wherefore everything you have done and desired to do to those Princes who died there, was done to me, for they were my cousins; and just as you looked after them, look after me; and again I ask you earnestly to come and make me a Christian, to save the souls of myself as also of many others.

God give you much health.

Such are the contents of the *ola* which this Prince sent to the Governor, and I am certain everything he says is true; for, although he has not had the water of baptism, he is so much a Christian in heart and will, as any other who has received it; because he had wished to be a Christian before the father was willing to be so without his son, although he did not know it; so that when he saw the father had become one before the Portu-

guese were in the country, he then waited till they should come, so that if they should be a hundred he might join them at once and become a Christian. But when we came and he saw so few and that they could not defend themselves if he joined them, he waited telling us what was his decision, that if we wished it, the others might become Christians immediately, but that he was unwilling to be like his father; that just as he wished for his own salvation, he also desired that of his people; wherefore he did not become so at the time. He wrote his *ola* to the Governor in the manner I set out above, and I am certain, Senhor, that he is a young man of whom all have the expectation of his growing to be a great man both in the religion of the Lord God as in other matters; because his thoughts are not those of a black, but of one who greatly desires to copy the Christian Kings, both in his manner of life as in all else; for he says that when he becomes a Christian he will not have in his house any but Portuguese, and that he is not going to be waited upon except as is your Highness.

He asked me how they called the first King of Portugal; I replied that he was Dom Afonso Ammriquez; he said that they must name him also the same. He is a man greatly beloved by the people, very gentle, inclined to good, not mean but open handed; a man of few words but decisive, and in his bearing a gallant gentleman. I cannot say much. He is strongly inclined to the matters of our holy faith and is anxious to spread it; he is already much opposed to the pagodes he formerly worshipped, and is a nephew of the King of Cota, being son of one sister who was married to his father, and also another sister.

And this his mother is now dead. The Princes who were there were his cousins, and the Governor had sworn Dom Joham, the elder, who died here, as King of Jafanapatam. The which Jafanapatam in ancient times

belonged to the Crown of the King of Cota, but now for a long time did not render obedience and he had usurped it from him. The King of Cota was saying that the Princes might take it if they liked. This Island is on the coast of the sea; a Ladrão who is there holds possession of it; this man has killed and robbed many Portuguese who came to land on that coast in storms, and he also has some money of your Highness. He is strongly opposed to our Faith. So that for many reasons it is necessary that he should go from there, and therefore the Governor had sworn this Prince as King thereof, and he was going to take him this past September, and therefore also he wrote to the King of Camde what I mention above. And after this Prince died, the Governor sent word to Miguel Ferreira that he should go and tell a Bramine, now an old man, that if he were willing to be a Christian, he would make him King of Jafanapatam. The which if it were done would be greatly opposed to God; since the Prince who died has one to succeed him, and that is this Prince of Camde who is his cousin and nephew of the King of Cota. And because they do not wish to give the country to him to whom it belongs, let them give it by preference to his heir, as the man who does not deserve it is this Bramine who is willing to become a Christian that they might make him King. And your Lordship should know that if this Island were given to this Prince of Cande, our holy faith will be greatly exalted and the honour and estate of your Highness increased; for this Island is very large and there are in it many people who are being lost one by one, since five hundred households are asking for baptism, and they cannot become Christian unless they drive away this Ladrão from the country.

And on this same Coast there are two Kingdoms; one they call Yala, and this adjoins on one side that of Madune. The other is Batecalou, which also borders on Yala and

Triquinamalle. This Kingdom of Yala belongs to the Prince of Batecalou, for he is the nephew of the Queen of the said Yala, and he according to their customs is heir of Batecalou as being son of the King.

I chanced to go to this Kingdom of Batecalou when I was coming to India, in order to take ship there as far as Sam Tome, as it is a sea port, and as this King is a friend of the King of Camde and the Kingdoms adjoin one with the other. As soon as this King saw me he rendered me great honour and entertained me. I was carrying a cross in my hand; he asked me what that object was. Regarding that I replied to him what the Lord inspired me, and thus I also told him how that was the device of the arms of your Highness, while relating to him the magnificence and power of your Highness, with various other matters at which he was much astonished. Then he told me that since the King of Camde had become a Christian, he also wished to be one along with his son, the heir of the Kingdom. I told him that which was necessary. Finally, as he was just about to become a Christian, there broke out a war against him, which an aunt of his desired to wage against him at the time. He told me that I well saw, how matters stood, and consequently he was not able to become a Christian then, but that he wished to make his son, who was heir of his Kingdom: and that when the Governor should come or should send someone, then he would become Christian with the people he ruled. I then told him what seemed to me necessary, and made the son a Christian, with his Regedor, and then he told me that he wished to write to the Governor, and the copy of what he wrote is this:—

Ola which the King of Batecalou wrote to the Governor:

Senhor Governor,

Your Lordship will know how the Padre Frey Symão de Coimbra came here to cross to India to give

you an account of what was done. He informed me of the truth and of your holy catholic faith, a matter which I was desiring much for so long a time, both to save my soul as also to make myself a brother in arms and faith with the King of Portugal. Nevertheless I remain much disappointed as I did not receive the water of Baptism so as to be able to call myself a Christian, although I am already that in the faith which remains in my heart; and therefore I am not failing to be one through lack of will, but through not knowing the conditions of my Kingdom. However I made the Prince my son, the heir of my Kingdom, whom they call Dom Luis; and I am waiting to become one when your Lordship or your son comes, together with the whole of my household, and the rest of the people whom I rule; for I hope in holy Maria that with your coming this your holy faith will be spread; and therefore, Senhor, I beg you, on the part of God and of holy Maria, that you should come or send to make the Prince of Camde and me Christians, because from this time forward my son, who already is, and I who hope to be, place ourselves in the hands and under the protection of the King of Portugal. And I beg your Lordship to help and protect me as a Christian Vassal and a friend in arms of the King of Portugal, for from now onwards he can make use of me and my Kingdom as if they were his own property, and he can also order to be built in my port naos, navios, gallions and catures, and for everything I shall give him as much timber as he wants; if he wishes to learn more about me, he can ask this padre since I told him all that he will say, in order that he might say it. God give you much health.

This King does not ask or wish for anything but only to be the friend and Vassal of your Highness, both to serve you as also to do everything which you order him, for he says that he has no war with anyone. He has only asked me for two dogs of a good breed for hunting with them, for he is a great hunter. He is a man of seventy years and very just. The Prince is about twelve years; he is of the right age for making a good Christian. He did not ask me for anything more than a wooden cross which I was carrying in my hand, the which I gave him, and I told him what he had to do.

I give all this account to your Highness as it is a matter which affects our holy faith of which your Highness is so zealous, as well as most Christian, and when the task is accomplished you will receive the reward which São Paulo said stands prepared for him who carries out the will and honour of the Lord God, that is, that eye has never seen etc.

For the love of our Lord and of his death and passion, since we cost him so dear when he redeemed us with his precious blood on the tree of the true Cross, your Highness should look after this his faith, and order the Governor, both who now is and who succeeds him, that he should carefully look after this Christianity and greatly favour these Christians, because if he does not do so it cannot progress without help and favour from him; for always over the work of the Lord God our enemy labours hard to hinder it, since, woe is me, those are more who hinder it than they who favour and assist.

Your Highness should remember this Nuno Alvarez Pereira who is with this King, as he has laboured much over this work. Both for that and also as he has served your Highness in these parts, is he deserving of whatever favour you do to him. For he is a man of great worth and the King does nothing except as he tells him, and he is his Veador da fazenda, and if he knew his language he will rule the Kingdom.

There is nothing more to say but only to continue praying to the Lord God for health and length of life and estate to your Highness.

Written in this Convent of São Francisco of Goa on the 25th of December 1546.

Frey Symão de Coimbra.

For the King our Lord.

Corp. Chron. I. M. 78; D. 109.

NOTE:

On the 18th of December 1546 Frey Simão de Coimbra wrote to the Governor as follows:—

“Senhor,

God our Lord knows with what great pain of my soul I am writing this; and, for love of the death and suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ, if in doing this I am causing some dissatisfaction, forgive me, for it is not possible for me to avoid doing so in the discharge of my duty which compels me to it. In a word, your Lordship should know that after I left Camde, the Portuguese whom your Lordship sent, committed numerous atrocities”. He continues with a vividly coloured account, supplied by Frey João, of Vikrama Bahu's distress at finding himself abandoned by de Sousa's men, and urges that another expedition should be sent under Dom Alvaro and Migell Ferreira, and Jafanapatão given to Vikrama Bahu's son. “in compensation for the atrocities committed by the Portuguese and to please the father”.

Carta 19, Cartas. de Goa.

DOCUMENT 41

Frey João de Villa de Conde to the Governor.

When I came to this city I found here a letter from the King of Cande who said that he requested your Lordship to be pleased to build a Factory at the port of Triquinamale, and that Nunalvres should be Factor as he had promised it to him for himself and his descendants with the ordenado your Lordship fixes, so that nothing else is lacking save the formal document: and that Duarte Teixeira should be the tutor of his son and his Guarda Mor. For the love of God concede this to him if it prejudices no one, and I shall derive very great satisfaction therefrom.

Goa, the sixteenth of March 1547.

Frei Joham de Villa de Conde.

Cartas de Goa a Dom João de Castro.

Carta 45. ff. 87—87 v. (Extract.)

DOCUMENT 42

Frey João de Villa de Conde to the Governor.

Senhor,

From Goa I wrote another letter to your Lordship as he advised me, and I am doing the same now, which also he instructed me to do from here. Your Lordship should believe that if Rui Goncalvez gave us a good send off from Goa, very little less was the welcome which the Factor and Ouvidor gave us here. It is clear to God and the world that everyone does this as they see the delight which your Lordship takes in this mission of Christianity and the service of God which I have on hand, and that was the chief inducement which made me hasten from the Reyno to come and undertake so burdensome a task.

I, Senhor, will not be satisfied with having received so great a blessing if I do not have the hope in the Lord God that he will give you peace and rest with all security. Wherefore I am going to this country to complete the task and to finish the business of this Christianity, and to place it in such order as it has not had up till now.

And since there is need of your coming, we ask for it as this is everything; failing it at least that of the Senhor Dom Alvaro, for in no way can that be omitted. For the love of the Lord God, Senhor, act in this with decision, for I know of your goodwill.

From Ceilão we shall write to you what happens so that you can supply a remedy if it be needed.

Your Lordship gave me a Captain of such good parts as can be found in one man. May it please our Lord to give him grace, that, while your Lordship does not come, much work may be done there.

Our Lord increase the life and prosperity of your Lordship for his service, and give that which he desires for my soul.

From Cochim this 4th day of April, 1547.

Your Lordship's unworthy preacher

Frey Joham de Villa do Comde.

For the Senhor Governor.

Col. de São Lourenço, T. III. ff. 375—375 v.

DOCUMENT 43

Frey João de Villa de Conde to the Governor.

Senhor,

I wrote to your Lordship from Guoa and Cochim of the good reception which your officers gave us, and Ayres de Fygueiredo did the same in this Pescaria. I see clearly that this kindness is shown to us through their recognising your so sanctified and insistent desire to place this work of Christianity on the road and in your time, the which was not the case up till now. Sancto Agostinho says that our Lord looks at the very essence of our intentions and deals with us in accordance therewith; what we can get from your Lordship on that side is to give favour by every means to Estevão Braz. And as our Lord knows this of him he is stirring up in this India in your time over this subject matters such as have not been started since she was discovered.

One is the King of Candea is become a Christian and the King of Tanor is moving towards that end. And now on our reaching Cape Comorin, the King of this Coast through a Christian who is there, seeing himself hard pressed by the Badeguas, men of the King of Bisnagua, asked Antonio Moniz to go with him along with the men he was taking, against a Captain of the Badeguas who had a matter of some 500 horsemen and they are going in cendeiras and 3000 on foot, and that he would give him all the property of the Moors who are on this coast, and that is not little. This is for the Portuguese; and for the King our Lord he wishes to make a fortaleza in this Calle, at his expence: at which he will bind himself to pay each year 10,000 pardaos as parias, and further to resign to him the renda of the direitos of the Coast of this Fishery, and in addition all the direitos of the

pepper of Coulam: and of this he gave an ola with his signature to Antonio Moniz; and to me he gave another by which he bound himself to become a Christian within this year. All this he offered only for us to go with him and his men, who were many on horse and foot, and to help him, with the which help victory was assured, according to what he and the Portuguese who were with him told me.

We accepted his application as it was so favourable, but on considering it further it seemed undesirable to do anything without first informing your Lordship and then the Captain should do in that matter what your Lordship directs.

He was very anxious in this to fulfil the service of God and of the King and of our selves as much as in him lay. It also seemed desirable not to do so because he would be risking the men and might thus fail to accomplish either this or the other for which we were going, and place in danger the men in Choromandell and Neguapatam and through this Coast, by waging war with the King of Bisnagua, whose people are among those Badeguas. These are so elated that not only they but with their help the Moors of this Coast, commit many affronts on the Portuguese, and much worse on the Christians, killing them and beating them and robbing them of their property; as a result many of them turned to be Moors, chiefly those of Calecare and Beadalla, because the Badeguas there make them serve not only themselves but also the Moors. This is according to what they told us. We found some of them are Moors, and the Captain ordered them to be punished.

It is not surprising that they fall off from the faith, since they have but scanty knowledge of it, while they see themselves persecuted by the Badeguas and Moors and little assisted by us; yet, so small is the strength of these Badeguas, that when Antonio Moniz came to this

land, they fled from him and abandoned the place; but on finding out that we came in peace, they returned and asked for safe conducts.

And since the Lord Christ Jesus our Redeemer desires to stir up these stony hearts, steeped in the hardness of heathendom, with a strong hand, for they are not deserving of love, your Lordship as his true Minister and servant and a pattern of a Christian, through love of him, heal as best you can this festering wound which is standing open from the beginning of the world.

It seems to me, speaking with the humility which is proper to my cloth, and to what I am, that if your Lordship entrust this matter to Antonio Moniz, he is likely to carry it through well after finishing the business of Cande, which I expect in our Lord will be finished, and a great work accomplished. If this cannot be set right from the first, let your Lordship for the love of our Lord send us a message immediately, and also in the cinnamon ship, so that we should know in everything what we have to do in the service of God, the King, and you.

I hope in God that he will give your Lordship much calm and peace and the winning of many spiritual treasures in this task: and that which your predecessors took in coffers so ill guarded from which they benefitted so little, your Lordship should place them in that secure place where eye has not seen nor has ear heard the things which God has prepared for those who love him. Who may be pleased to increase the life and prosperity of your Lordship for his service.

In this Callepatanão on the 22nd of April of 1547.

Your Lordship's unworthy preacher

Frei Joham de Villa de Cõde.

For the Senhor Governor.

Col. de São Lourenço, T. II. ff. 382 and 382 v.

DOCUMENT 44

Antonio Moniz Baretto to the Governor.

As regards the Ceylão business, with reference to the King of Camde, I am starting there to-day with sixty men whom I got together with a deal of trouble, apart from those whom I hope to find in the Baixos; for I have sent a catur to remove from the vessels which passed there, all those who are going without your Lordship's license, and they are many, excluding those who have already gone; and till then I am staying here collecting provisions and making ready two catures. And if I set out from here, the more speedily will I be able to get together in the Baixos all the men needed; but it is not possible to do more.

Senhor, it is not practicable in this monsoon to go to Nagapatam and Sam Thome and to turn to Tryquinamalle where I have to disembark. I am going to Candea to see if along with the King I can arrange to get together about one hundred men with those who are there in his company.

If he carries out what he has promised in his letters to your Lordship, then I shall go and bring men from Choromandel to march with them against every king near him who is his enemy as your Lordship directs in your instructions. For the defence of his country those of us who are going are enough.

I once more entreat your Lordship to send me a reply as speedily as possible, because if the King is not going to make his people Christian, they must remain as much in darkness as they are, nor should your Lordship wish to have me there, since in India I can do better work.

From Quallpatanam, today the 22nd of April 1547.

Amtonio Moniz Bareto.

DOCUMENT 45

Antonio Moniz Baretto to the Governor.

My Lord,

From Baticaloa I wrote to your Lordship by way of Choromandell and sent the letters to Neguapatão that they may forward them from there to you. In them I stated how the King of Baticaloa is a Christian with part of his people, and also there were converted the sons of the Benachyn who at first was the mistress of the whole of this land, and by the death of the old King she was left with a half. She allowed her sons to be baptised, and the people and the whole country would have been baptised if I had been able to wait longer, which I could not owing to the great urgency which they pressed on me from Camde, and as there were coming 2000 men and a Frade of São Francisco and seven or eight Portuguese whom the King was sending in search of me. He wrote to me that I should not delay, because of the need in which he stood, as Madune was pressing him hard with a Prince of the Corlas and trying to enter Camde before I should come.

With this message, Senhor, and the assurance of the Padres and of the Portuguese that the King would make this conversion the day after my arrival, as he had written to your Lordship, I took the road with the 100 soldados who came in my company. I could not collect more as the monsoon was already past and it was not possible to go to Choromandell and return here this October, and I knew of the need in which they told me Camde stood, and that the King might be lost or change his decision. I resolved to go to Camde with so few people to see the King's decision and what men he wanted. If he carried out everything which he wrote to your Lordship, and

sent to say through his ambassador, that he would make his children and people Christians, and announce to his people that he was one, as he was baptised at night very secretly, but concealed it from his subjects; and would not make many images resembling those of the heathen and nothing of the Christian: as soon as this conversion took place I would leave him eighty men who are sufficient to defend him and his country against every other King who should war with him; and then go to Choromandell for as many more as possible; and to go and return would not occupy more than two months.

I came to Camde with much trouble owing to the road being long with great mountains and uninhabited; through the greater portion of the journey we suffered hunger, in some places thirst, and travelling fifty leagues on foot and traversing them under arms, as they belonged to enemies; and all this with much content, as it was serving God, and your Lordship so ordered me.

Believe it, Senhor, the business progressed so well that they came to us on the road that we might make them Christians as we were spending the night on the bank of a stream. There came to us a King of the land of Vylaçem with something like sixty men, the chief people of his country, to be made Christian. He was baptised. Further on there came another Lord of some lands, whom they call Cousalle. He also became a Christian. All these were converted as they live near Camde and were afraid that if they were heathen while the King of Camde became a Christian, I would destroy them and take from them their lands and give them to the Christians of Camde; and therefore they struggled as to who should be first.

In spite of all the haste with which I came on my way, I found the Princess, daughter of the King of Camde, had started for this Cota to be the wife of the grandson of the King of Cota. The which King for a

long time would never consent to bring about this marriage, till now in order thereby to stop this Christianity as he really did; and your Lordship will learn from me the ways and means he found for that, the which I omit to detail because I am only waiting so long as there does not come the armada which I left beached at Batecalao, and I am daily expecting it. As soon as it arrives I set out with 150 men whom I shall be able to take from here, including in the number those of us who came from Camde.

A league from Camde the King came to meet me with a great reception and such tokens of rejoicing as are his custom, and they could not be exceeded. I stayed in Camde eight days, resting from the labour of the journey, without speaking to the King. During that time the chief people of the Kingdom came to me; as soon as the Prince was baptised, I should do the same to them first, as this was an honour. I therefore thought that everything which he wrote to your Lordship was the truth.

After going a few times to see the King, I spoke to him about the conversion of his son and that he should acknowledge his own, and announce it to his people, since he had Portuguese who were sufficient to defend his Kingdom from his enemies, and that if there were need of more, after he completed the conversion, I would send to fetch as many as were wanted, or I would go for them leaving with him all whom I had brought, together with a Captain, till my return.

He replied that he was not going to announce himself to his subjects as a Christian nor was there the least need for his son to be such, nor did he consent to his people being made such until after they gave him the Kingdom of Madune; and all this Island right up to Jafanapatão he wished for.

When I saw him so unreasonable I went away from him to return afterwards and exchange many arguments

with him. The day after he sent and requested me to go and see him. On getting me there the said King first denied to me in person that he had written any matter, nor had he knowledge of what was written to your Lordship, because he had done no such thing nor at any time was it his intention to make his son Christian nor his people; but on the other hand they had promised him everything which he now demanded, and he would be a Christian after they handed over everything to him.

When he saw that I was going away, he sent his chief men to request me not to go, and that he was willing to do every thing which I said he had promised, and that I should go there. There an agreement was come to in the presence of his chief men and before all the Portuguese, the which your Lordship will see in that paper which is coming with this letter and which is a copy of the agreement made in the presence of him and of all his officers, signed by him and by witnesses. In order, if he failed to carry out what he there agreed with us, to prevent his afterwards saying that he did not know what was written in Portuguese, another of the same tenor was drawn up in his language by them, which also he signed. Both of them are left in my hands.

Twenty days were spent over these negotiations, as will be seen in the agreement; and after he had made up his mind to do what he said there, he was met by so much pressure from the King of Cota, and he worked so hard to destroy this Christianity, till he achieved it. For after he had his daughter here he sent him so many threats and insults, and last of all he kept his daughter here for more than a month in a palm garden without being willing to receive her, declaring that so long as the Portuguese remained at Camde he would not receive her, nor, if he became a Christian, did he want her as the wife of a black of his grandson; and that as soon as the Portuguese went out of Camde and he had the

assurance of his not being a Christian, then he would receive her.

And so he did and as soon as he knew I had broken off relations with the King and gone from his territory, he received her and exerted himself to prejudice the King our Lord in various matters, as your Lordship will learn from me.

When I saw the twenty days were gone and the decision of the King of Camde was not to be a Christian and to deny the baptism: as he had already got together many people, among whom were 2000 espingardeiros, according to the account of the man who told us, with very good espingardas which Portuguese had taught them to make, as I saw that the King was very untrue, and our good will towards him was destroyed, since he was not willing to give the food which was needed for the journey and insisted on my going by the Batticaloa road; as it was very long and the mountains very great and unpeopled, we would all be destroyed by hunger; I ordered all the baggage and the goods which we had brought to Camde to be burnt without there being left to us more than our arms, which were needed for our defence. With plenty of bullets and powder at our girdles, our espingardas at our sides, and our lints alight, I took the road for this Cota, as being the nearer. I thought that in the country of this King, as he is our friend and the Vassal of the King our Lord, we would not lack anything.

On approaching the territory of the Prince of the Corlas, before reaching them, I found at a passo innumerable people of the King of Camde, the which King held in his power as a prisoner the mother of the King of the Corlas. With her he so arranged matters that she sent a message to her son not to place confidence in me, as under the plea of going through I intended to enter his territory and to seize it for the King of Camde. To create a stronger impression he ordered many men, whom

I met on the way; to be posted at the pass along which I came till I reached the Corlas. Here I found many more ready to close the passage and this they began to do.

As I had sent a Franciscan padre with a Portuguese to tell the Prince how I was going, and a reply had not yet come to me, his men told me that I should wait for a message from their Prince, because so long as it did not come they could not let us pass, for such were their orders; and I should make the men who were behind us to turn back. They were anxious since I did not want anything else but to go through, which made them suspect some other design.

As it was night we slept there between the two armies, where we passed it with much trouble and alarms. The other was not more than a stone's throw away and we were in the middle and the forest was thick and the sea thirty leagues away.

The next day, as there was no food and we had not eaten for two days, I turned back half a league to where there was a pagoda, strongly built, with a town in which we got plenty of food and cattle of which we made small pies. We remained here seven days, and on the eighth the poor fellows turned to burn such little baggage as they were carrying, and with the pies in our wallets, very determined and waging to get through, we began our march; when they saw our determination it made them open for us the silver bridge, and so we marched on till we entered the territory of Madune, the man from whom we expected less welcome and more opposition, for we came to Camde to ruin and destroy him. Nevertheless we received at his hands more tokens of friendship than we had expected, for throughout, all along the roads, there was food ready for us and there were many visits and acts of courtesy by his orders on the part of his most respected people, and in his territory they did everything I wanted till we entered that of Cotta.

Here we found no welcome; instead they ran away into the forest and abandoned their villages and were not willing to sell us any food but rather concealed it.

I reached this Columbo with all the men very worn out and straggling, as your Lordship can imagine; the more so as they were Portuguese who were so little accustomed to marching by land under arms as we came. And the journey, though it was not more than forty leagues, through great mountains, was not short after marching all the way from Batecalau, which was more than fifty.

For twenty days we waited in this Columbo without this King of Cotta sending to see me or visiting me, while Madune sent to me several times with many presents. Now at last he sent to see me here a respected man to whom I complained how ill I had been supplied in the lands of the King, for the man he sent here was his near kinsman.

Now ten or twelve days ago he sent to ask from me here on the part of the King our Lord and of your Lordship to go and see him, because the service of the King demanded what he wished to tell me. I went there. He asked me that I should state to him the faults which I laid to his charge for the King of Camde not becoming a Christian, since he wished to prove himself clear of blame. I stated what they were and also how badly I was received in his country and everything in which he was to blame regarding the Christianity of this country, which will be detailed to your Lordship; and that, as he had in his power the King of Uva, a vassal of the King of Camde, and many women and honoured men and elephants and jewels and several other rich peças, all these should go to Camde, because they came with the King's daughter. In your Lordship's name I laid an embargo on them so as to recover from them the expenses and outlay and the losses which were incurred. This I did by a letter

of demand in which I pronounced everything as sequestered in his hands till your Lordship sent orders what should be done in the matter. I further sequestered the daughter of the King of Camde, since he sent for her also in order by her means to obstruct the Christianity of all this Island; and he brought about this marriage maliciously, as he knew she was promised to your Lordship by letters of the King of Camde which the Padre Frey João holds in his hands, in which he says that, after she became a Christian, he will give her in marriage as directed by your Lordship to a King of this country whom your Lordship should select as most in the interest of the King our Lord.

I can report to your Lordship many other incidents which took place here, the which I pass over for their time.

Through Pero Froes there came a letter from your Lordship; I shall carry out everything ordered there as you direct.

My Lord, Antonyo de Bryto who takes this letter is a highly honoured man and a servant of the King our Lord whom he has served very well. He has now been eleven years in India and has always continued in the King's service, several of those years in my company. He also accompanied me in the galliot to Dio where he was wounded and burnt, and he was with your Lordship at the battle where he did what is expected from a man so honoured; I am a good eyewitness of that. Last year your Lordship gave him a mercê of 100 pardaos as soldo and a license to go to Portugal. He did not go as he was very ill. He came here with me with the license which your Lordship gave me to bring him. Now he has come to ask to go to the Reyno; to allow this would be to do me a very great favour; and also a letter to the King which too your Lordship gave him last year. If you pay him an esmola from his soldo, you will do me a very

great favour, because he is very poor and is passing through such toil here, that when these and those of the past year are brought together before your Lordship, he cannot fail to earn a mercê before you.

God increase the life and prosperity of your Lordship for many years as he desires, and send him very soon to Portugal from Columbo.

This day, the 11th of October 1547.

Antonio Moniz Bareto.

Col. de São Lourenço T. III. ff. 387—391.

NOTE:

Regarding this expedition Dom Alvaro de Castro sent to Dom João III the following report, which illustrates the curious exaggeration in which Portuguese writers indulged when describing military actions.

“My father sent him to Seilão with men to help a King who wished to become Christian. He was there eight or ten months, during which he underwent great toil and danger, doing everything which was demanded by the service of God and the King, in the course of which he accomplished such great acts of gallantry that truthfully to narrate them would need a thousand folios.”

Col. de São Lourenço, Tomo V, f. 48.

DOCUMENT 46

Frey João de Villa de Conde to the Governor

Senhor,

So great are my sins which are hidden from the world but known to God, that they more than anything else were able to prevent a work so great as was the conversion of Cande. Above everything I admit to your Lordship that I could not satisfy my conscience if I failed to act as I did, when I was so importuned with many ollas and letters from the King and the two frades who were there and a certain Nun Alvres who brought him to this stage; the result of which was that I became liable to render an account to God for so great a perdition if I did not in that matter do what I could. Further the many men, fildalgos and others, who came from there and told me that the King was ready to make everyone Christian, induced me to go and ask your Lordship for help. I was led to the same conviction by the very urgent letters of the said King which I got after starting from Dio, and the 2000 men whom he sent for us and our baggage to the port of Baticaloa where we disembarked, and an ola he wrote for us and which Antonio Moniz is sending to your Lordship, as well as his public admission before us and his people, of his desire to make all Christians. These which suggested so great a likelihood of completing a business so lofty, led me to go and deceive your Lordship, as I myself was deceived; and they have brought me to such confusion that I do not know with what eyes I shall appear before you; as for my labours I consider them well spent because of the cause on which they were spent.

The which reminds me that this is not the first deceit in the world, although it is a very great and complete

one, and leads to much prejudice to the Christianity of these parts. I take no account of any Christian of this Island, since they do not become Christians as they see themselves persecuted and not favoured, for which reason they became Christians. God is powerful; he can from this people's hearts of stone raise up children of Abraham; but they present so many obstacles to the Holy Spirit that I believe this cannot be done except with a strong hand. For the love of God your Lordship should not regret having given orders regarding this—because the man will not be wanting to say that you did not show yourself zealous in a matter so holy, while you had such great zeal, of which the whole-hearted cooperation which you gave us for that purpose is good evidence.

Over two matters I am much distressed: that I had the boldness to ask for a Captain, men and funds which were needed for that matter at such a time. The other is, the stores which the Lascarins burnt as they had no one to carry them; for the King sent men to carry them to Camde, but none to take them away. Above all Antonio Moniz lost more, both in the destruction of his property as in maintaining the men, for he gave them food there and also now at this place, and he is still keeping them together to go and serve your Lordship. They tell me that they are more than a hundred Portuguese, and each one has his *moços* which is a heavy expence.

It is certain, Senhor, that your Lordship was inspired by God to send him here, for had the incidents which took place got into the hand of another, they would easily have led to great trouble; but he controlled them with such wise judgment as was needed by what followed—*gaudebat cum gaudentibus, flebat cum flentibus*—he was all things with all men. Above all was his patience with the Lascarins, who with this were so obedient that at no time did the King find in him or in them any avarice or lack of discipline. The statement which the King made

in sending us away, that later on he would make the Christianity, as he found us to be false, was due to three reasons, which your Lordship should carefully note. First, his great wickedness, for he is a bad man; next, the persuasion of this King of Cota; thirdly, the evil example of the first Portuguese who were there. Because if you give a bad man a chance he becomes worse, and he said so, and your Lordship has notice of that in an inquiry which you ordered to be held.

I give no account of the great trouble which we underwent in the voyage, because Antonio Moniz has written to you at length. We converted the King of Batecalau with his people, and the princes of Banachim with their chief men, and the King of Vilacem and Caurale. I keep these to be remembered.

I am of opinion that the King our Lord should provide a remedy for this if it is possible, and if God provides none. May he be pleased to give your Lordship salvation for your soul and everything else which he desires for his service.

I receive much sorrow from the kind letter which your Lordship sent me, as that which was expected turned out so much to the contrary. May our Lord accept it as a great esmola.

From this Ceilão, the 11th of October 1547.

Your Lordship's unworthy preacher

Frey Joham de Villa de Conde.

Col de São Lourenço, T. III: ff. 385—386.

DOCUMENT 47

Mayadunna to the Governor.

(Sinhalese) Sva.

Senhor,

For many years I desired peace and friendship and to be the Vassal of the King of Portugal, and though I sent many times to ask for these from the Governors, I was never so fortunate that they should give them to me, even though I would bind myself to pay the King of Portugal the pareas which should be reasonable; and now that your Lordship has sent the Captain Antonio Moniz to this Island, to help the King of Camde against me and all his enemies, you will learn from him how ill he carried out his promise to your Lordship, though it was a question of his Kingdom being preserved for him from me so that I should not take it from him; and the falsehoods and untruths which he employed towards me also in regard to his daughter; because after he had promised her to me, he formed a contract with the King of Cota and gave her to him: all this in order to avoid carrying out what he had promised to your Lordship.

Therefore I offer myself to go in my person and with my men to take the Kingdom from him, if you will make me a merçê of it for a son of mine in the name of the King of Portugal. For this purpose I wish you to help me with 200 well-armed Portuguese, and I shall pay the cost of the Armada and soldo to the Portuguese, for as many as shall come: and the treasure of the King of Camde, which is very great in precious stones and gold, will be one half for the King of Portugal; the other half, if it seems well to your Lordship, should be used to meet the expences which I am going to incur over

the war. For it is certain that we shall get it, with the help and favour of your Lordship.

You should also send orders to the Captain not to leave me till the war is finished, and I hope it will have a successful ending in a very short time.

Further I request from your Lordship that out of the ten sea ports which are in this Island you should make me a *merçê* of that of Ceylão, in order that through there I might trade with your Lordship. And I bind myself to pay the King the *pareas* which your Lordship should fix there as reasonable. This port of Ceyllão must be along with the Corlla which serves as a road to it, as can be learnt from this man of mine, whom I am sending to your Lordship as my ambassador; and you can learn from the Captain who he is: and also how all the Portuguese who came from Camde in the Captain's company as far as Negumbo, were looked after and kept supplied. I sent orders to give them always, right through my territory, provisions and everything necessary, because I thought your Lordship would be pleased with this and that in return I would earn praise.

God increase the life and prosperity of your Lordship for many years.

This 26th of October 1547.

I sent to request the Captain that we should meet, so as to give him an account of this. He was pleased to do so and he came by river in a catur to within four leagues of Ceytavaqua, and I went in a tone four leagues down stream, where we met. What we two discussed and what I settled with him, he will tell your Lordship.

(Sinhalese) Sva.

Governor of India.

Col de São Lourenço, T. III. ff. 393—394.

DOCUMENT 48

Frei Antonio Padram to the Governor.

Senhor,

Experience teaches me; my conscience accuses me; the little credit my words have before your Lordship is my excuse. I do not know where to turn, since there is not here either consolation or a letter from your Lordship. I have further seen what they tell me, that on the walls of Dio you held an inquiry regarding me in the name of Andre de Sousa. That was unnecessary; I send you there the truth for my defence. It can be that it is for my greater glory.

Senhor Antonio Moniz advised me that he had written briefly, therefore they found things more evil than what I wrote. I wrote the text; the commentary was not my business, if I was not well understood and the judgment erroneous. God is for all, but each is only for himself. He who does not want advice deserves to go wrong.

Senhor Antonio Moniz was induced, advised, and almost forced into committing a great mistake. He held his hand like a high minded gentleman. He preferred an honourable name to dishonourable wealth.

The Frades two by two testify to the truth of their religion as they know that it is so. They must work in the name of God, and no King or Senhor wishes for the faith in truth: all is falsehood. If you will be one, I too will be one, so that you may not take what is mine and I can take what is yours.

The friendship of Madune is good. If they did not quarrel with us for their safety, the two would have slapped us in the face. They were gradually forcing us out of the land. For that reason I say it is good and you must accept it so as not to allow evil to grow. He who is against my

faith is against me. There are many who write to your Lordship who do not travel by this path. We have here Churches of clay and palm branches, and many of the people are Christians. God in his own time will know what will happen. It is our duty to maintain this for our honour since we maintain the cinnamon. Once we build a castello in Columbo all will be secure and Christianity will spread to the glory of Jesus Christ. This is what I think., but I bow to your better judgment.

I am now for some time old and am crippled till I am given help.

Made this day of Santa Caterina, 1547.

Your useless servant

Antonio Padram.

For the Senhor Governor.

Col. de São Lourenço, T. III. ff. 396—397 v.

DOCUMENT 49

Frei João de Villa de Conde to the Governor.

Senhor,

I have already written to your Lordship from Ceillão about the matters of Cande and of our voyage—at what point they came to an end. What happened afterwards was that Madune sent and invited Antonio Moniz to come to an arrangement regarding the Christianity and the service of the King our Lord. He is coming there and he will report to your Lordship; he is taking an ambassador from Madune, a kinsman of his, in order to fix up these matters. I do not venture to go there that they should not speak more of me than they have done till now and I did not do what I ought not. Quite enough for me are my great labours of six years in this part, which are fruitless.

The King of Cota, when he saw Antonio Moniz bringing his brother's ambassador, offered him 10,000 pardaos out of the expences which he had incurred in Camde and that he should not report that he acted with the King of Camde. He was so noble and of such great truth and so free from avarice that he preferred to go poor with truthfulness than rich without. They told me that the King of Cota was going to send these 10,000 pardaos to your Lordship for the expences of Camde in order to appease you, because he with his ollas of promises and threats was the chief cause of our not achieving anything in Camde. Two companions of mine, who had come with me from the Reyno, when they saw so much time spent without profit, and my leaving in such dissatisfaction, came along with me, I in the company of Antonio Moniz, while they came in our gallion; our intention is that we should go to the Reyno. I for my part would not venture

to go without your Lordship's sanction, as your Lordship entrusted this affair so much to me. Matters are moving all this time; we can do nothing and observe nothing of what we should; no prayer or meditation, but great tumult and disturbance. Wherefore as a Senhor devoted, fearing and loving God, I ask you to give me advice and send and tell me what I should do in the matter; for I shall do every thing with right good will. If you approve of the departure of myself and my friends, for the love of God send us a license from the Padre Custodio and provide us entertainment for the road. If you do not approve, I shall wait for the necessary time; because it is not my will I desire but God's.

Our Lord increase the life and prosperity of your Lordship and his service.

From Cochim, the 27th of November 1547.

Guomes da Silva laboured well over this voyage; he went to meet the armada at Batecaloa. Your Lordship should for the love of God, render him a mercê.

Of Antonio Moniz I mention nothing in the letter, as I have written in another: only his patience in entertaining and treating men well, his absence of avarice, his expenditure over them: all this was so great that praise should be given to God and your Lordship should reward him.

Your unworthy preacher

Frey Joham de Villa do Conde.

Col. de São Lourenço, Tom. III. ff. 384—384 v.

DOCUMENT 50

Residents of Columbo to the Governor.

Senhor,

This country is so ruined that for the service of God we are all bound to inform your Lordship of the truth, that precautions may be taken regarding the numerous matters which are ill done, as is the case here. This King who is known as a friend of the Portuguese, is the greatest enemy we have here; so long as we do not defend ourselves against him, he worries us with safety to himself. He is now working against Christianity to create such hardship as it is not possible to believe, and he persecutes to such an extent the people who become Christians here, that now no one ventures to become such, but on the other hand those who have been Christians a long time do not dare to exercise their Christianity and they go to their pagodas just as they used to do before, in consequence of the many persecutions to which they are subjected by him and his.

This country is in such a state that a large portion of the people would become Christian if they were to see the ability of the Portuguese to protect them from the hardships which the King inflicts on them for becoming Christian; but the help they get from us is so small that they do not dare to remain on our side.

We find it well known that if the King of Cande did not become Christian, it was this King of Cota who dissuaded him, and thus say many of his own people.

As to the hardships which are inflicted daily on the other Casados and residents, if your Lordship cannot secure us justice, we shall be compelled to abandon the country and leave the plantations which we have made. We are not referring now to our paying him direitos,

because the King our Lord, through wrong information which was given to him on the point, was pleased to order their payment. Your Lordship should direct that in paying them there should be some concession as is the case in all parts and ports where payment is made, as here there is no such provision and they make us pay what they wish; so that even though a vessel has nothing of value, they make us pay direitos and anchorage dues for a last of stone or sand. As for our coinage they have so lowered it in value that a pardao of gold is worth four tangas, and of these the bulk are of false fanams.

The King always takes trouble to please the Captains of the cinnamon ship who come here, calculating that if he satisfies them and some of the more powerful, he can do to the rest all the evils and offences he likes, if your Lordship and the other Governors are not told the truth so as to punish him as he deserves.

Now before this cinnamon ship set out, the King of Cande sent to this King of Cota the artillery of Amtonio Moniz which he left there and also 12,000 pardaos to pay the cost of the Armada and of the men. As for the money he does not very willingly admit receiving it, but two days before the vessel started he paid fifty men or so who were found here out of those who went to Cande, twenty five pardaos each for the expences they incurred and what they lost on the road. From this your Lordship will see how he was the cause of the King of Cande not becoming Christian; as the result of which the whole Island failed to become such. If he became Christian that was sufficient for all to become the same at once. This your Lordship can take as certain, for these people are of that nature.

When the ship was ready to start he ordered proclamations to be issued that no one should go to Ceitavaqua and

the territory of Madune nor take any merchandise. He has determined as soon as the ship set sail, to make war on Madune. Your Lordship will already know that for these eight or nine months he has had houses built in the forest, about which Duarte Teixeira and Mestre Luiz know very well, as they are his chief advisers and it is they who make him do everything he does, and they are more loyal to him than to their own natural King and Lord.

There will be here in this Island forty of us residents, and though we are far removed from the service of the King our Lord, through our not being so much in contact as those of Cochim, we stand very ready with our property and persons whenever we are needed, like loyal Portuguese. We entreat your Lordship to do us the favour of informing yourself of the truth regarding the matters set out above, and when informed about them, to provide us with justice, and not acquiesce in our being tyrannised over by this heathen King, as we are. For we have no hope that anyone will protect us save your Lordship.

Your Lordship should inform yourself from the Frades who are going from here and also from every other person, so long as he is not some dependant of this same King, and in this you will do us much favour and justice.

Our Lord increase the days of your life and give you victory over your enemies.

From this Ceilão where we all remain praying to our Lord for your life and prosperity.

Today the 27th of November 1547.

Christovam Rabelo,
Amrique de Matos,
Belchior Roiz,
Migell Fernandes.

DOCUMENT 51

King of Ceilão to Dom João III.

Most High, most Excellent and pre-eminently Powerful King Dom João of Portugal.

I, the King of Ceilão, make known to your Highness that your Governor Guarcia de Saa wrote to me by the cinnamon ship how you were in good health and also the Queen my Lady and the Prince and the Infante, with which news I am greatly pleased, and I shall always be pleased to hear the same, as is natural in regard to so excellent a King, for the good of all his Vassals; especially I, owing to the obligation which I have and ought to have towards your Highness. Wherefore it will give me pleasure every year to observe this duty.

Your Governor further wrote to me that your Highness is somewhat displeased with me because my ambassador when in the Reyno told you that I was going to become a Christian. This is a statement I did not make to you, nor did your Highness write to me such a thing through him; I only hear this being said by the Frey João de Villa de Conde, the Guardião. In reply I wrote to him that I would not pursue a double course, because there are in this world your friendship and my God; but I repeat this to your Highness, because, as this is the work of God, it is not to be achieved by force. He will decide when it is most to his service.

And as to what your Highness wrote to me of the evil treatment I give to the Christians and how I oppress them when they come to become such, I stand astonished at the sight of a man so bold as to tell you or to write to you that which is not the case; and regarding this I can be called a mofino, since they do not thank me for the

good which I do alike to them as to the Portuguese your subjects; because I never know to do ill to one who does it to me; how much more in the case of the Christians whom your Highness recommends to me so greatly. In order to ascertain the truth of that matter, I desire you to send it to me by a document for your Highness to learn the truth; and in respect of this and the rest, it is I who have less power in this land, and this is for my love of you.

Your Governor wrote to me that you directed him to pay me a matter of a debt which your Highness owed me; I wrote in reply that there was no need of that at present, and that it would be embarrassing to you if he should pay it now, as your Highness has so much need of money with so many men in India, while it will do us little help; and that if required I will go in person, and everything I have stands ready when you need it: and this your Highness can take as very certain.

I gave you an account of this my country and of the trouble which I undergo with your Highness' Factors, especially Gaspar de Azavedo who as soon as he came here, at once took up the attitude of being unwilling to do anything which I should order him, though all my orders were just, without giving me pleasure for a single hour, for it seems to him that in this way I will do him more favours than if he served me well and as your Highness orders.

It is however not only these wrongs which they do me and the insults they offer to my person; but they conspire for men to stay in my ports, who do numerous misdeeds and acts of injustice to my people so that they are all being abandoned by the inhabitants. There are other matters which I state at greater length in a report which I ordered to be drawn up on the subject, as soon as there came here João Fernandez de Vascomcelos, Captain of the *carreira*, to ascertain the truth on instructions from

the Viceroy whom God keep, so that your Governor should punish him as might be just. Afterwards I considered that it was more for your service and the benefit of my Kingdom to send him with the charges against him to your Governor, so that he might not be sent here ever again, as I set out more fully in my application, which I made to the said Captain regarding the matter. He as your loyal subject carried out his duty with complete integrity and settled the affairs of this my land quite to my satisfaction, so that I can say with reason that I am the King thereof; and he reestablished the good name of the Portuguese which was so lost. Above all, apart from the charges against Gaspar d'Azavedo, if they are such for which he should deserve to lose his office, he should altogether cancel his term of service, and this for the love of God and of your Highness; for I am not saying what I wish in order to do him harm. When the said João Fernandez de Vasconcellos was ready to start, I was compelled to go a league to where he was to request him in your name not to go away, because I was in fear of my brother waging war against me as soon as he was gone; for which reason he stayed on, and also for various others which I do not state here to your Highness till I inform your Governor and he gives orders regarding it as seems best in my service and the safety of my realm.

The Viceroy, whom God keep, gave me a certain Antonio d'Afonço Sequeira as my Escrivão, who is serving me greatly to my satisfaction; but your Factors were unwilling to agree that he should write for me though I had great need of him, and on some excuse or other they wished to ship him at once outside this Island; for they thought that when I had no one to write for me, I would not be able to make my complaints of the wrongs which they are doing me. Therefore I request your Highness to be pleased to send me your decree that no Factor

or any other person should interfere with him or compel him to do anything, but he should only serve me as Escrivão; and when I have complaints, they should give a judge who is above suspicion, and if they are such, he should submit the matter with his report to your Governor, and in this you will do me a very great favour, as in any other manner I have no one to write for me; and it should be so for his lifetime and he must come subject to some penalty.

God increase your life and Royal Estate for many years as your Highness desires.

From my Cota on the 7th of December 1548.

(Sinhalese) Sri.

To the most High, Excellent, and preeminently Powerful
Dom João, King of Portugal, my Senhor.

Corpo Chron. Part 2. Maço 241. Doc. 93.

DOCUMENT 52

King of Ceilão to Dom João III.

Most High, most Excellent and pre-eminently Powerful Dom João, King of Portugal.

I, the King of Ceilão, make known to your Highness that after writing to you it seemed to me well to give you an account of what your Portuguese subjects did to me.

I had at my port of Galle, twenty leagues from here, my Capitão, Tennagom Mudelyar by name, one of the chief men in my realm, with numerous relations, and to some degree my kinsman. He was for eight or nine years my Governor in those parts. Now about five months ago on a festal day he agreed to go with his wife to take part in the rejoicings through the said Galle, where at the time there were twenty or thirty Portuguese, and two others of them attempted to uncover an andor in which she was, in order to see her, a matter among us most objectionable; consequently they tried to prevent their doing such a thing. The Portuguese would not refrain from doing what they wanted and over this they beat his men, so that during the disturbance the said Mudelyar came up and they killed him and two of his nephews and two other men, and four or five were wounded, without any injury being done to the Portuguese or any negro being beaten.

All this I am bearing for the friendship I have with your Highness and the blame for this lies on Gaspar d'Azavedo, who held no inquiry into the matter; so I am now sending to complain to your Governor and for other matters of this kind I shall kiss your Highness' hands to send me a decree that no Portuguese may remain at a port of mine save only in Columbo, a league from where

I am, and this I shall consider a favour. Because the punishment of the murderer and also of Gaspar d'Azavedo, your Governor will attend to, as I hope; for the deeds which they do to me are such that I am ashamed to recount them to your Highness.

God increase your life and Royal Estate for many years, as is his pleasure.

From this my Cidade of Cota on the 11th of December 1548.

(Sinhalese) Sri.

To the most High, most Excellent and pre-eminently Powerful Dom Joham, King of Portugal, my Lord.

Corpo Chron. II. 241. 96.

DOCUMENT 53

Mestre Francisco Xavier to Dom João III.

Senhor,

I am not writing to your Highness in detail of the acts of disfavour and evil treatment shown to those who are Christians and converted to our holy faith, since the Padre Frei João de Vila de Conde who is going there will report them to your Highness with all truth. Your Highness ought to give him many thanks for the great trouble he has taken in these parts of India in the service of God and the relief of your Highness' conscience. For the physical toils which the Padre Frei João underwent in these parts of India, even though they might be numerous and great and continuous, are insupportable when taken with the troubles of the spirit over the evil treatment which the Captains and Factors inflict on those who are newly converted, when it is their duty to help them; it is as it were a kind of martyrdom to have patience and see destroyed what one has obtained with so much labour.

We have here definite information that the King of Ceilão is sending to your Highness great boasts of the services he is rendering your Highness; you may know for certain that God has a great enemy in Ceilão in the King and this King is favoured and does all the mischief he can only with your Highness' favour. It grieves me to write this, for finally we are afraid here by our experience of the past that he is going to be more favoured by your Highness than are the Frades of São Francisco who are in Ceilão. Finally experience has taught me that your Highness has no power in India to spread the faith of Christ, while you have power to take away and enjoy all the temporal riches of India. Your Highness must

pardon me for speaking so plainly; the disinterested affection I have for you compels me to do so, as I feel as it were the judgment of God who at the hour will reveal what no one however powerful he may be, is able to escape.

Senhor, as I know what happens here, I have no hope of their carrying out here the commands and provisions which are needed in favour of Christianity, and therefore I am as it were fleeing to Japan so as not to lose more time. Regarding what has happened the Padre Frei João is taking certain memorials from the defenceless Christians of Cape Comorin; may your Highness be a father to them, since Miguel Vaz, of a verity their father, is dead. There is a Bishop of Armenia who is serving God and your Highness in these parts for forty five years, a very aged, virtuous, and holy man, who at the same time has received no favour from your Highness, or almost from anyone in India. God favours him since he chooses to favour him through himself without employing us as a means to console his servants. Here he is only greatly favoured by the padres of São Francisco, and by them he is so favoured that it could not be more; were it not for them this good and holy man will by now be at rest with God. Your Highness should write to him a letter of much affection, commanding therein to recommend him, with an instruction to the Governors and Vedors da Fazenda and Captains of Cochim to give him the honour and hospitality he deserves when he comes to ask for anything. I am not writing this to your Highness because of the needs of the Bishop, for the charity of the holy fathers of the Order of São Francisco assists him freely in his needs with the zeal for charity which they have; but your Highness ought to write to him recommending him earnestly that he should take the task of recommending you to God, since your Highness has greater need of being favoured by the Bishop in his prayers

than the Bishop has need of the temporal favour of your Highness. He has laboured much among the Christians of São Thome, and now in his old age he is very obedient to the laws of the holy mother Church of Rome. In the letters which your Highness is writing to the Padres of the Order of São Francisco and along with them, you should write an expression of your great satisfaction to this Bishop

May our Lord grant to your Highness to feel within your soul your most holy wish and give you grace to accomplish it to perfection just as it might be your desire to have it accomplished at the hour of your death when you are about to render to God an account of all your past life, the which hour will be sooner than your Highness thinks. Therefore be prepared since Kingdoms and Seignories finish and have an end. It will be a novel matter, of a kind which has never befallen your Highness, to see yourself at the hour of death dispossessed of your Kingdoms and Seignories and entering on others where it will be a strange thing for you to be ordered, which God forbid, out of Paradise.

From Cochim, the 26th of January 1549.

(Copy of a letter of the Padre Me. Francisco to the King.)

Ms. 490. Bibl. Nac. fl. 103.

DOCUMENT 54

King of Ceilão to the Queen Dona Catherina.

Most High, most Excellent and most Powerful Queen,
my Lady,

I, Buanegua Bao, King of Ceilão, inform your Highness that a letter of yours was given to me by Dioguo Vaz your jeweller, with which I was greatly pleased and satisfied as it contained a matter regarding my Kingdom and yours, with which I could serve you. I ordered them to give him every advance possible and to deliver to him all the jewellers he asked from me, as he can write to your Highness; I also offered to him everything else he was entitled to get as my wish is no other than to be zealous over that in which I can be of service. He certainly laboured here well over his task, for which he deserves that your Highness should show him much favour.

As to news of myself, I continue in good health with the Queen my wife and the Princes my grandsons, although I am greatly harassed by the Captains of the King my Senhor, as I have written there to him and your Highness can see, if it so please you; all which I bear and shall bear for the old and true friendship which I have and shall continue to have with his Highness.

I shall kiss your Highness' Royal hands to have my matters brought to notice before His Highness by you so that he should make provision regarding them as over his own Kingdom, since he has in me so loyal a Vassal and servant.

Your Governor sent to ask me for a small loan for the needs of his Highness; it is not possible for me to give it now at which I am much disappointed as I wrote to him there. I beg your Highness to be pleased to have

me excused before His Highness; had I been able to give it, as I did when I had the means, no pleasure was like that.

May the Lord God increase your Royal Estate with much health, and your life and that of the Prince my Lord for many years.

From this my cidade of Cota today the 11th of December 1549.

(Tamil) Accept this statement as true, knowing I caused it to be written thus.

(Sinhalese) Sri.

Corpo Chron. I. 83. 51.

DOCUMENT 55

King of Ceilão to the Conde da Castanheira.

The most magnificent Dom Antonio de Tayde, Conde da Castanheira, and Vedor da Fazenda of the King, my Senhor,

I, Buanegua Bao, King of Ceylão, inform you how I am in good health, praise be to God, and also the Queen my wife, and the Princes my grandsons, the which news, together with every thing else regarding this my Kingdom, it gives me pleasure to convey to you in this letter owing to the obligation under which I stand towards you for the honours and favours which my ambassador received from you and for the information which I have received of how loyal a vassal you are of His Highness. To him also I am writing how dissatisfied I am with his Captains, both of the carreira, and of those who reside in this country, as they are not willing to do what he commanded them, for they think that if they do so I would not give them as great rewards as when they refuse to do me service and oppress my people in such fashion, that if on any day they do what I want in accordance with the Regimento of his Highness, it is when I do them a favour; as soon as two months pass without their receiving them from me, they immediately return to their evil practises, to the extent of being ready to assist my brother contrary to what the said Senhor ordered, though he is doing what he does and it is well known to his Governors and to everyone; so that when they do what they are ordered, the thanks ought to be given to my money and not to some other person. Because they by all cunning devices and ways that they can, contrary to his Regimento and that of his Governor, and without any fear, do what

comes to their fancy, and they also connive at the same being done by all the Portuguese who are in my country, without punishing them, but instead they are favoured by them. I am well aware that if his Highness should know of such a state of things, and his Governor, of the manner in which they act, they would punish them very severely. Wherefore I endure this, and also because of the old and true friendship which I always had and shall have towards the King my Lord. The state of things is such that if justice is not upheld in this matter I believe I must soon lose this my Kingdom.

Therefore I request you earnestly that when you are in the presence of his Highness you should tell him that he should write to his Governor and strictly enjoin him to safeguard what appertains to my dignity, because the Regulations which his Highness sent me by my ambassador none of them do they observe, so that if they were not from so great a King, I would have already sent them back, for they are of no use for any purpose.

They tell me that his Highness sent orders to ignore them; this I do not believe, nor will I believe so long as I do not see it in a letter of his, even though Joham Fernandez de Vasconcelos, of whom I wrote to you many wonderful things last year, should regard them as cancelled, declaring that the Governor Jorge Cabrall gave him such an order, which is not the case. If he served me well, as I wrote to you, it was because I gave him many rewards and lent him 5000 xerafims, and ordered that to be put to the account of the debt which his Highness owes me; I gave it for certain articles which I ordered him to bring and he did not bring them to me; and because I did not give him a discharge for these, he did me all the mischief which he could, even sending to tell my brother and stating in public to all that he would give him my Kingdom if he would give him money, and that the salvation of myself and of my grandsons rested with

him, and numerous other matters which I am ashamed to repeat to you and pass them over, because I know that the King my Lord will decide regarding them and this my Kingdom as in a matter of his own. The which I request as a favour from his Highness. Do not avoid the trouble of doing this and I earnestly request you to remind him. Jorge Cabrall, who is now his Highness' Governor, sent to ask me for a loan of 30,000 cruzados for his Highness' needs; I was unable to comply as I had not the means; I assure you, I felt a great deal of sorrow at my inability. Had I been able, I would have no pleasure equal to this, as I always have done it. For anyone else I have nothing and desire to give nothing but only to his Highness and his service; wherefore I beg of you on my behalf to make my excuses before his Highness.

The Lord advance your Lordship as you desire.

From this my Cidade of Cota, today the 12th of December 1549.

(Tamil) Accept this statement as true, knowing I caused it to be written thus.

(Sinhalese) Sri.

Corpo Chron. P. I. Maço 112. Doc. 147.

DOCUMENT 56

King of Ceilão to the Infante Dom Luis.

Most High, most Excellent and Powerful Infante Dom Luis, brother of the King my Lord.

A letter of your Highness was given to me from which I received much pleasure and satisfaction, on learning of your good health, and also at your remembering to write to me, which for me is a great favour: no less could be expected from a Prince so renowned as your Highness is.

As for me, so far as I am a servant of the King my Senhor, I do not speak, for the obligation under which I stand towards him. I am writing to him at greater length regarding certain incidents which took place in this country. And also about the victory which I won over my brother with his assistance, and the help given me by Jorge Cabral his Governor, to whom your Highness should give thanks for this, for love of me: therefore in this I shall not do so, since you are able to learn from him that matter and also regarding the rest; what I am writing to His Highness you will see there.

God increase your life and Royal Estate for many years with much good health.

From this my city of Cota on the 10th of December 1550.

(Sinhalese) Sri.

Corpo Chron. I. 85. 107.

DOCUMENT 57

Dom Affonço de Noronha to Dom João III.

Senhor,

Our Lord be praised, I have reached India and I offer Him great thanks because the voyage I made was such that methinks I was where I was most needed for his service and your Highness'; and if this be so, I cannot fail to derive much satisfaction therefrom, since I wish for nothing else but to serve in a matter of such importance and of such a nature that life would be risked in the labour which I shall have over it. The condition of India I shall set out below; I think what I desired has come to my hand.

On the 8th of May I wrote to your Highness from the Island of Madeira, and from there I set out in weather so unfavourable, although it was fair till we crossed the Line, that many people thought that I should make for the shore, to which I never agreed, as I thought our Lord would show me the favour which he did; and I crossed the Line on the 4th of July and sighted the Cape of Good Hope on the 17th of August, though I was trying to make the Islands of Tristam da Cunha first, so as to cross from there to India without seeing the Cape. These Islands I did not sight, and it looks as if our Lord thus ordained the matter that we might go by a safer route. After sighting the Cape we went on to the altitude of forty degrees, where we encountered a tempest so terrible that it threw the pilots out of their calculation to such an extent that no longer did we know where we were going; and while some thought that we could be on the way to Cocotoraa and others that they were very near the Island of Matualo, at dawn on the 17th of October we sighted Ceylão without there being a man on board

who knew it. Nearly all the people in the ship, both noble and also otherwise, were sick, but they were so well looked after and tended that, our Lord he praised, no more died than two moços and a slave. From this I judge that the majority of deaths are due to lack of nursing and the deficient supply of necessary articles.

In Ceylão I found Pero Frois in the ship which went for your Highness' cinnamon and from him I learnt that Garcia de Saa was dead and Jorge Cabrall was administering the Government: and he gave me such news about India that they made me forget the troubles of the sea in other greater ones which I saw I was going to find there.

He also told me that our Lord had brought me there in order to soothe down some agitation and wicked ideas which existed in Ceylão owing to which there was a ferment there a short time before, as I shall relate to your Highness. In order to continue my journey according to the instructions I carried, and to land the sick who were coming in the ship, and who stayed behind there, and because the weather was not favourable, I stayed there for ten days.

Your Highness will know by this time that Dom João de Castro ordered Dom Jorge de Castro to go to Malaca to marry Garcia de Saa's daughter to whom he was betrothed, and he married another woman from Malaca whom he had. He came to Ceylão where he stayed as long as Garcia de Saa was Governor, and after his death, on learning that his own nephew Jorge Cabrall was administering the Government, he according to talk made an arrangement with the King of Cota and went to India, and in his wake there came an ambassador of the said King bringing, as they say, a large sum of money for Jorge Cabraal in order that he should send to Ceylão an armada with men to take away the lands from the King's brother Madune Pandar and give them to him (according to João Fernandez de Vasconcellos he

has already given him 95,000 xerafins) and that he who should do this should take from India 200 men.

As soon as this ambassador came to India Jorge Cabrall prepared an armada of 600 men in numerous rowing vessels, at the charge of your Highness, without making any reference to the money which the ambassador is said to have brought, and he sent it there with his uncle Dom Jorge as Capitan Mor. On reaching Ceylão he took the lands from the said Madune and delivered them to the King of Cota, and after completing this task he desired to go on to the King of Candia who was saying that he wished to become a Christian. The latter sent and requested him not to come to his country, as happens here many times; and as he was anxious to go all the same, and as the King of Cota advised and urged him not to do so, he gave the latter a written statement to the effect that in spite of the objections the King indicated, yet it was incumbent on him to go to Candia.

He started for there, and when he was now a league or a little more from the Cidade, the King of Candia's Capitans with the people of the country fell on him and defeated him and killed about 200 of his men and wounded many and captured the arms and baggage which they were taking. The defeat was so complete that there was not one man who kept in touch with another, and some saved themselves through the forests and devious paths and without any order. They say that Madune helped the others, as he thought that he was undone, and was anxious to be in the good graces of your Highness and to be your Vassal, and that justice should be done to him regarding the lands which were taken away from him, as he afterwards requested from me and I shall relate below.

As for the people who died here some hold the opinion, and especially Frey Antonio who was there with the King of Candya, that they were killed on the instigation

of the King of Cota by his writing to the King of Candya to attack them; and perhaps if it is so he would write to him about the lack of discipline and the scanty stock of powder they took, which was also a cause of their defeat. From this suspicion he tries to save himself by showing the writing I speak of above as obtained from Dom Jorge, who gave it to him when he urged him not to go to Candya; but his offence is explained by his alliance by marriages with the King of Candia, and they write to each other very frequently, and in their letters they discuss their kinship and a very close friendship. There is also the neglect he has shown about punishing his people who pulled down a church and a cross and committed over that matter great acts of lawlessness for which he offers cold excuses; and the chief is that the church was built without his license and consent and on land of their pagodas, and that the people might have done that, though not as reported to me.

According to what I think of him both with regard to the King of Candia and this further affair, I am of opinion that he ought to receive some punishment, and it would not have been a great matter to deal with him in a different way if I had the necessary means.

It is my duty first of all to give an account of that to your Highness, as I find the Portuguese have lost so much prestige that the people of the country tell them at every opportunity to go to Candya; and also in view of the news I have about India and its condition.

None the less I pointed out to him and reminded him of the duty he owed your Highness' service and with regard to the good treatment of all Christians and their Churches, that that was the chief matter in which he could render service. And because there were discussions about this, and in the interview we had he was anxious to act on the proverb that the hearts of Governors are in their purses, he sent to make an offer to me in cinnamon

and elephants to an amount which was worth a large sum. I replied to him that I was not coming to India, with the trust which your Highness reposed in me, except to do justice, and that I did not need anything of his, and I was not going to take anything; but since he admitted himself to be under such obligations as he was to your Highness and your service for the favours which he had received from you, and as he was your Vassal, whose affairs you so strictly recommended to your Governors, and because India, according to what I had learnt there, was so full of wars and in such need, I should like him to lend me 100,000 pardaos to provision it and pay the men who were engaged in the war; and that by this and by showing in all other matters affecting your Highness' service the love and good feeling which he entertained, it would appear very clear to me that he was not such as he was described, and the charges which they made against him would become less serious.

To this he replied to me that he was without money and that he had given a large sum in the time of the other Governors, and over Dom Jorge and his armada he had spent 50,000 pardaos, (out of which Dom Jorge says that he still owes 15,000 on the contracts which they made, a copy of which he sent to your Highness and the originals remain with me in order to recover the debt) and so he excused himself over the whole of it and was not willing to do anything.

After the King of Cota's talk with me, Madune Pandar sent an ambassador of his and through him asked my permission to send his son to me; this I gave and the Prince his heir came and told me on his father's behalf that he wished to be your Highness' Vassal: that he considered himself such and had always shown proofs and acts of that, and from what he had done for the Portuguese in their distress I could decide and know it; that he was

responsible for many being saved, and those who came in his way had received hospitality and attention and he had sent them away in safety. He asked me in return for this good feeling, to do him justice as to your Highness' Vassal, and to order the return of the lands which Dom Jorge took away from him and gave to his brother, though he had no fault for which he should deserve this, were it not for what was given to Jorge Cabrall for that purpose: and that he would pay the paryas which your Highness or I on your behalf should fix as fair and reasonable, and what he ought to pay willingly in view of his lands, and that he would give the necessary securities for that. He then presented to me some jewels which I did not wish to take although they should be for the Queen our Lady, for he came to demand justice: Frey Antonio was present at all this: instead I made him a present of a cabaya of crimson Satin in your Highness' name, and ordered a feast to be held in his honour and entertained him in the ship and accepted Madune as your Highness' Vassal. As to the rest I replied that as he asked for justice and it was right that it should be administered impartially, his brother must be heard as well; and as I was on my way and could not wait there longer, as good weather had set in and the affairs of India would not admit of delay, he could send me here his ambassadors and also those of his brother, to whom I had already sent to give notice of this; and in the light of the advice which I should have over the business, I would do justice to all as your Highness commanded me; and I would arrange the affairs of Ceylão as seemed to me most to your service. I ordered an Assurance to be given him as your Highness' Vassal, and instructed the Alcayde Mor not to consent to war breaking out between them, and not to help the King of Cota if he desired war, but that they should continue as they were till they saw the decision I reached about their matters.

As soon as the King of Cota knew that his nephew had come to me, apparently fearful of proceeding against him without orders, and like a man who was distrustful or lay under a charge or whose good qualities were slighted, he immediately sent to me his ambassador who was in Portugal. From what I learn from a letter of Pero Froes, he sent me by him some money as a loan to your Highness, but by the time he came I had already started. I am hoping that Pero Froiz will bring it and then I shall write what it is. I think that with him will also come his ambassadors to ask for justice in the matter of Madune Pandar his brother, and then an inquiry will be held as to the claims of each, and thus justice will be done to them.

I shall now tell your Highness what I think of Ceilão, both the country and its resources; it is so unusual a matter for a ship to come there from Portugal that methinks our Lord ordained that I should come there so as to obtain by inspection knowledge which I could not get by hearsay with such detail or accuracy. Ceilão, Senhor, is an island of seventy leagues; the country is very healthy with a very good climate, very fertile, well stocked with food, and one can produce there as much as one likes if the lands which are fitted to produce it should be cultivated. It contains an abundance of timber of every kind for building naos and large navios, and plenty of masts and yards for all the galleys one wants, iron as much as you wish, an abundance of resin and coir, apart from the fact that it is close to the Islands of Maldiva from where it comes in large quantities. It produces much oil and so with everything else required for fitting out great armadas.

It contains many precious stones and much gold and the people are of a nature which with a little trouble will be obedient and little will be needed to make them Christian, if we ignore some Moors who are there, and

who can be sent out of it easily. It is possible to reach Ceilão from Portugal in all weather. It is very close to India from where help can be sent in any contingency which should arise, and it will be a place of retirement for Portuguese. It is a country regarding which the Turks already have designs and they have sent to sound the ports which it possesses. I therefore think that we ought to build there a very large and strong fort, so that it can be controlled from there and defended when there should be need, at that port of Columbo which is closest to India where the other one formerly stood; not at the identical spot, but rather at another named Sam Lourenço which stands above the port and can defend it and is adapted for the building of as strong a fort as one desires, and that without a heavy expence: because at the spot there is stone, and lime will be made at once, and there is an abundance of men for the labour; and in it can be collected many Portuguese casados who are in Ceilão and they can remain there in safety. Once the fort is built it will be possible to interfere in the government of the country and with its Kings and to increase the *pareas* paid to you and to secure there a revenue which will maintain the fort and its expences, and to get all the cinnamon, from which a great profit will be made for your Highness. Much precious stones can be obtained, especially in the Kingdom of Candy, the King of which deserves a severe punishment for the death of the Portuguese. I think it will be necessary to decide regarding him whether he should be removed from being King and whether his Kingdom should be conquered (which can be done with little trouble if we have Madune on our side), and a portion of the Kingdom given to his son, who I am told is a very good Christian. There can be there a mine of gems for your Highness, which would yield you a large revenue, and his treasure which is said to be great, or a good share of it.

And because owing to the condition in which I find India and some disturbances which are apprehended there with these agitations, and the war in Malavar, it will be necessary to wait till these are settled and the country and its affairs arranged differently, there will be time for your Highness to send me in reply your commands as to what I should do; but I remind you that you should come to an agreement and decision regarding this with speed as the matter is of a nature which does not admit of much delay.

In the country I did not find justice or order or the appearance of it; I left it regulated as best I could, till I send further instructions from here, as I shall do. I gave orders that the solteiros should go to India so that they should not be at large creating disorder in the country, and that all the casados should be collected at Columbo, for that is the port where the fortress should be built and a monastery of Sam Francisco stands there, and they should be collected together and live under regulation and not scattered about without it, except for some who are at Cota on the King's Guard. These I left to remain there with the Alcayde Mor, whom I warned and advised that he must act in conformity with your Highness' service and his Regimentos.

There in Ceylão I found some provisions and grants issued by the previous Governors, and chiefly by Jorge Cabrall, in respect of 3000 bares of cinnamon, to fidalgos and others who are not and some of them men of little . . . and little merit, and also most of them were exempted from Customs duty and they were to remove them in your Highness' ship without paying freight. This seemed to me a serious irregularity and very (prejudicial) to your Highness' service and involved much loss to your Fazenda. I thought it better not to interfere at once to cancel these, so as not to irritate the whole of India immediately I got there, for the people here are suspicious

and full of their own interests, and I do not know if there is a man left who would care to serve for nothing, and think it was for God. In view of what Jorge Cabrall afterwards gave in Bardela, when I was already here in Cochym and he had news of me, as I shall afterwards state, this cannot be accomplished for a long time: if I did it India would rise up against me; but I shall work by degrees in setting about placing things in the best order I can.

I left there an honoured man named Christovão Rebelo, a casado and an old man, who had influence among all, as Father of the Christians of the country, in order to assist them and to ask for them what was needed both from the Kings of the country and from all other persons, and I gave him a Regimento and instructed him that he should not permit any offence or wrong to be done to the said Christians and recommended him always to write to your Highness and give an account of what was happening there; and all the Christians who came there to see me I entertained and encouraged and gave them regulations so that they should be well taken notice of. In my opinion if this land is more under our control, very rapidly and in a short time their numbers can increase greatly.

I started from Ceylão on the 29th of October and opposite Coulão the Factor came to speak to me and gave me news that Jorge Cabrall was coming from Goa.

* * *

Cochym, 16 January 1551.

Dom Affonço.

Corpo Chron. Parte 2. Maço 242. Doc. 44. (Extract.)

NOTE:

The following extract illustrates the Viceroy's statements regarding Turkish designs on Ceylon. It is from a letter addressed to Dom João III by a native of Lisbon, and dated Cairo, 30th August 1551.

.... I further wrote to you that there was at Moca a corsair with some galliots who went with them this past year to the Coast of India opposite Mangalor which is twenty five leagues from Dio, and that there he seized three Portuguese naos which were coming from Ormuz and took from them more than a hundred thousand cruzados, of which he sent the Turk twenty thousand with a request for a Captain of Gales from Suez, since he did not have one. The Turk ordered to give him five more gales to carry on the conquest from there, and because he did not have them they sent him two Gales from Suez.

I further inform you that I heard it said to a man of this Captain who came with a present to this Baxa who was Comitre of a Gale, that his superior was very anxious to go to Ceilão to lie in wait for the ships which were coming from Malaqua: that a look-out should be kept if they were not there: if they should be there, they should not go from there without punishment as he will inflict very serious damage to the ships from Malaqua and Bengala: if they were not there, beyond doubt he would find them on the coast of Melinde as far as Mocambique, because I believe that such were his orders. Even if he should go to Ceilão, that did not keep him from Mocambique. Because to go to Ceilão has to be with the West wind, and it would be possible to go there till the middle of January and to return from there to Mocambique with the East wind, as it is possible to winter there because on the Coast of Melinde there is the Cidade of Mombaça in which to shelter.

DOCUMENT 58

Sri Radaraksa Pandita to the Queen Dona Catherina.
Senhora,

The King of Ceilão, my Master, sent me to India to the Viceroy with 10,000 pardaos as a loan to your Highness, because the Viceroy sent word to him that he was in great need of money. When in Ceylão he told the King that his was the first land in those regions at which he touched,—an unprecedented event, such as till that time had not occurred; and methinks that with this novelty other much greater ones are coming to my Master.

And because he commanded me to inform your Highness of the decision regarding his matters arrived at by the Viceroy, for owing to the great distance he is unable to learn it in time to do so himself, I take the liberty, with your Highness' permission, to do so briefly on his behalf.

Last year too the King my Master sent me to the Governor Jorge Cabrall, to give him an account of the vexations and troubles which he underwent at the hands of Madune his brother, who does not rest night or day from harassing him and devising means to kill him and his grandsons, whom your Highness has been pleased to recognise as heirs to the King my Master's Kingdom at his death. For Madune is secretly winning over the King's Captains to his designs, asserting that his sword will decide the succession to Cota better than your Highness' Alvaras. In view of this I came to ask for help from the Governor to drive Madune out of Ceitavaqua where at a distance of eight leagues from Cota he was collecting large stores of artillery, powder, and warlike material, fortifying himself with great tranqueiras, walls and baluartes, and lording it over several districts which

he had taken by force from my Master with the help of the Moors of Calecut some years ago.

On learning of these matters the Governor Jorge Cabral, acting according to reason and the justice due to the friendship of the King of Ceilão, as he was a true and loyal Vassal of your Highness, granted to him the said help, the King paying 20,000 xerafins to meet the expences of the armada, 150 more bares of cinnamon each year as pareas, apart from the 300 which he was already paying from the start, and ten transport elephants the first year. Of all this a record was drawn up of which a copy is being sent there to your Highness.

Dom Jorge de Crasto came with this armada as Captain Major, and together with the King my Master and his men went to find Madune. Before they reached him, four leagues from his cidade, at a place called Nava-guama, Madune who was concealed in his tranqueira attacked them, and in the fight killed five or six Portuguese and wounded several. The Portuguese kept up the fight and routed him and entered his city and destroyed all the munitions which he had, while Madune retired within the forest. Here he negotiated for a treaty and friendship between them and the King my Master. After messengers had gone and come Dom Jorge de Crasto sent them a fidalgo, Andre de Souza by name, with a Captain of the King my Master, to discuss the settlement, to ascertain if he was willing to make a payment, or to give your Highness goods as cargo for one ship from the Reyno, and would pay the costs of the Armada. Not a word did he say as to his schemes. Therefore the King of Ceilão urged the Captain Major that they should advance further to drive Madune out of Dinavaca where he was, and that he would give your Highness a further 40,000 xerafims, namely 20,000 in cash for the payment of the men, and 20,000 by a discharge of what your Highness owed him on the loan, which

the Governors had asked from him here on your behalf.

After debating the matter with the Captains and fidalgos of the said armada, they decided that the King's request was in the service of your Highness, and because the Captain Major said that he had to go on to Camde, the King urged that, if he helped him in this, the King would help him in the expedition to Cande with some of his Captains and men, the which the King promised to do for him. Of all this they drew up an agreement which was signed by the King and by the said Captain Major and a Captain of his armada, and a copy of this is going there to your Highness.

When matters had reached this stage the Frey Antonio Padrão, for he was on the way to Cande, delivered a sermon that no one should go any further against Madune under pain of excommunication, and that all should get ready for Cande, which set the men to disobey the Captain Major. At this crisis there did not fail to come such a flood of water and so great a storm of rain that the plains were deluged and no one could go by the road. Thereupon the King urged Dom Jorge to cancel the agreement since the bad weather was so severe and would not permit of it being carried out, but he was unwilling, as he was afraid of the Governor regarding the contract. An agreement was then come to between him and the Captains that the King should give at once 10,000 pardaos for the pay of the men and for the expences they had incurred, and that as regards the 30,000 the agreement should be submitted to the Governor for him to waive the sum if he wished and if he found it just; on this point they drew up another agreement which all signed, the which the King my Master is sending to your Highness, so that after your Highness has seen it you should decide what appears to you fair and just. If you determine that these 10,000 pardaos should not be paid

for the expences, he lends the sum to your Highness. As to the 30,000, they should be waived, because the reason was the intervention of the bad weather and the preaching of the Padre Frey Antonio, and in no respect did the King my Master break the agreement.

The King then made peace with his brother and this was done. The King my Master having made an agreement with the Captain Major that the latter with the Portuguese and the King with his men should jointly advance on Cande and take those Kingdoms, and whatever was obtained there, alike territory as other money or goods, should belong in like shares, a half of the territory to your Highness and the other half to the King my master, and the money in the same fashion. The making of the contract on these terms, which was made before the contract of Madune was entered into, came to the knowledge of the King of Cande through the Padre Frey Antonio and Frey Goncalo and Pero Bruzil, a French Captain, who had gone secretly to Cande to see him, that the King my Master and Dom Jorge were deciding to make the expedition.

The Captain Major then refused, asserting that it was necessary, and that he had messages and letters that the King of Cande was becoming a Christian, with several other people who were already Christian. But the King my Master, who was thinking otherwise, told what was the truth and he advised them, speaking to the Captain Major and the other Captains, and requested them that they should not go there: that he was very certain they would be exposed to great danger: for already three or four times he deceived them and would do so again. As for the fear about the contract, he requested him to go to Calane and he would give the men food and everything they needed for the space of six days; and also the King my Master's son in law with his Captains and men and elephants would join and help

him; and they would go there not through the lands of Madune, but rather through Nigumbo as far as Cande, the which is territory of the King my Master; and they would travel in greater safety. The Captain Major would not follow any opinion but his own, though much against the wishes of the King who asked him for a written statement of all this as he saw that the Captain Major was absolutely unwilling to give up the expedition, declaring it was so laid down in his Regimento and he could do no less. The King gave him in all seven elephants and a Captain of his whom he asked from him. And all these the King of Candea seized there and the King my Master lost them.

What befell them there your Highness will see there by the letters which are coming to you from here; from this the King my Master received great annoyance and vexation.

When on his retreat he got to the middle of the territory of Madune, a Captain came deceitfully to meet him with an ola which he said was from Madune, and that he had come to welcome him and to give him everything he needed through all his territory, inviting him to rest there some days. But God who knew the truth of the plot and that the object was nothing else but to detain him till some men were got together to kill them all together, put into the heart of Dom Jorge that he should not stop but go on; so after promising him with fair words much money he left thirty wounded Portuguese in his charge so that they might send and ask for them afterwards. Madune's Captain took them into his charge under the name and protection of the King, and five or six days after the Captain Major left, they killed them all and declared that a Captain with forty men had come from Cande and killed them.

This it is clear is a great farce. As forty Chingualas by themselves would not dare to attack thirty Portuguese,

how much more so within the lands of Madune, where his people were in strength. It is very well known that the arms, money and clothes of the Portuguese all came into the hands of Madune. The Captain Major complained of this to Madune and asked him for justice, by his Captain Guomez da Sylva whom he sent there; the reply was to exculpate his own men and to lay the blame on those of Cande. When he inquired who they were and where they stood and what he told them, to that he replied that they had fled.

So powerful are the sins of the King my Master and the malice and hatred of some men to whom he has shown great favour, because it was not so great as they wished, that they malign him and declare the King is greatly to blame for the death of the Portuguese and everything is in a state of frenzy.

There came to Ceilão a certain Dom Dioguo de Noronha in the armada and company of Dom Jorge, and as all know the King showed him great honour and favour. This man repaid him by doing in his palace and in the city things so different from what gentlemen do that I am ashamed and think it bad manners to write them to your Highness. In the end the King was forced to ask the Captain Major to arrest him and make him leave Ceilao, and he took from the man his parole over that matter. This Dom Dioguo broke and he remained in Ceilão and went at once to Ceitavaqua, as Madune also was collecting Portuguese and threatening the King.

These matters are so well known that if your Highness wants information about them, it will be enough to ask for them.

As he saw that the King complained about him he began to say that he was a traitor and that he would prove it. It turned out so fortunately for him that at this stage there came to Ceilão the Viceroy whose nephew they say Dom Dioguo is, and he gave him the information

according to his version, and as the Viceroy made it clear that he was his uncle, there was no one to contradict him. There was the additional fact that the padres were on bad terms with the King. The reason was that two months before there was at Tanavare, thirty leagues from where the King is, in the lugar of the chief pagoda in Ceilão, a Frade without a license from the Bishop or the Governor or his Custodio, and without the instructions of his Cabido. This man, without giving information of it to the King of Ceilão, erected a building on the pretence that he was making it to teach boys, and afterwards gave it a name and called it a church, and the people of the country came and pulled it down. Though the King is blameless in the matter the padres are anxious that he should be held as having done wrong. This cannot be, since in his palaces and Kingdoms and in the eight or nine ports which the King my Master owns—in each one there are two or three churches and numerous crosses, and in the King's own Cidade and in the middle of its plaza there are standing two important churches, where up till now no insult was ever offered to them, but instead great honour and respect, as it is right should be the case, and as your Highness very well knows. These padres on their side helped to say more evil things of him than Dom Diogo, and the first information had so much effect on the Viceroy that although later he came to find out that the King was not such as they represented him, yet to all seeming he was so ill disposed against the King that every one is astonished.

I cannot omit to suggest, Gentile and Bramene though I be, that changes so extraordinary and so unjust as the good being adjudged evil and the evil good, are manifest signs of the end of the world. What can be more monstrous than to hold Madune as the good man, after he had ordered the murder of thirty Portuguese on his own soil, men entrusted to a Captain of his by a Captain

Major of your Highness; and to decide that he was free from blame in the matter, and to lay the blame on the King my Master, though he is the Vassal and tributary of your Highness through all his life and right to the end of his days, though he has entrusted his grandsons to your Highness, though his friendship and loyalty are so distinguished for so long a time, though the Portuguese through the whole of his realm enjoy as much liberty as if it were their inherited casals and quintas?

Let your Highness be the judge and throw into the scale his faults and the merits of Madune, and so give your decision as you see each one's merits and his service.

The Viceroy when in Ceilão asked the King my Master for some money as a loan, and afterwards sent a message from India by a catur to renew the application. The King sent me to his Lordship with 10,000 xerafins, as he had no more, and also to make representations about certain matters and to clear him of certain accusations which untruthfully they tried to fix on him through their friends.

On my arrival his Lordship was unwilling to take the money by way of a loan but only in payment of the contract which Dom Jorge entered into with the King at Ceitavaqua and which was submitted to the Governor for cancellation if he should so think right. The Viceroy is saying that he will examine the question with lawyers to see if it cannot be cancelled: it was necessary to complete the payments in the meantime. I answered that this would be done since it seemed to him to be right. The result was that I made the payment and the 20,000 pardaos to be discharged were also brought to account.

In every point the King of Ceilão has carried out his contracts, both the one he made with the Governor Jorge Cabral, as the one he entered into with Dom Jorge de

Crasto. So far as I see, it appears to me that the Viceroy holds the contracts binding to the extent of the King making payments, but not to the extent of himself carrying out for the King's benefit that which is due to him under their provisions as against Madune his brother, and holding as effective the peace which the two made, and which was signed by them and by the Capitan Major of the armada in your Highness' name. This is a matter about which I am greatly astonished for when the truth is dying and coming to life again, I do not know what to say.

I entreat your Highness to remember the King of Ceilão, who for so long a time is your Vassal with so much truthfulness, and who never failed to hasten to your assistance every time that he was called, and that you should favour him as you have always done till now, for at this time he needs your favour more than ever, as he is a man who owing to age is now in the last stage of his life, and any little displeasure and disfavour will end by killing him. Of a verity in him there is no offence for which he would deserve any other treatment from your Highness. It will be an unfortunate illustration for your Highness' Vassals to hear and see the contrary, which God forbid.

This is the 28th of January and I have no reply from the Viceroy about the business on which I came, and he is starting for Guoa. When he was about to embark he called me and told me that his answer to me was that he would send a Letrado and an experienced fidalgo to hold an inquiry into the whole matter, and that he will then give his decision according to justice.

About sending me next year the King will write to your Highness as it ought at least to be of great magnificence as the nephew of your Highness (Sic).

To whom may the Lord God increase life and health and Royal estate for many happy years as your Highness

and the King my Master also desire; and to the Viceroy may he grant many years of life for the preservation of the loyal subjects of your Highness.

Made in Cochim on the 28th of January by Pandita Bramene, ambassador of the King of Ceilão, in the year 1551.

(Tamil) Sri Radaraksa.

Pandita, Ambassador.

To the Queen our Lady.

Corpo Chron. 1. 86. 15.

DOCUMENT 59

Dom Affonço de Noronhato Dom João III.

Senhor,

The affairs of Ceilão seemed so important at the start and therefore they involved so much labour to a large number of fidalgos and cavaleiros who are serving your Highness in these regions who went with me there, that it seems right to give you an account of them in a special letter, and therefore I do so by this.

When I came from the Kingdom and reached Ceylão I found the country in a very restless and excited condition, and the Chingalas overbearing towards the Portuguese, who had lost much of their prestige in consequence of the victory which the King of Camde obtained over them when Dom Jorge went there, as I have already written to your Highness. And because I came with so few men and so badly prepared, and I had not yet taken charge of the Government of India, and also because of the news I found there from India and because of the condition in which it was, it did not seem proper nor to your Highness' interest that I should delay there.

And when Madune sent his son to me at sea, and complained of what Dom Jorge had done to him although he was a Vassal of your Highness and held your banner which Dom João de Castro had sent to him, and asked for justice from me, I replied that in view of the news from India which I found there and because the season was so late, it was not possible for me to delay nor to interfere in their affairs nor to give him the justice he asked from me, but that he should send his ambassadors to me to India, and that I would send word to the King his brother that he also should send me his ambassadors, and that after hearing them I would give them justice

impartially, as your Highness commanded should be done to all your Vassals, for that was the chief matter you commended to me; and that in the meantime he should not wage war on his brother, but should remain with the lands he then held, just as he had arranged with Dom Jorge de Crasto, till a decision is reached with respect to their matters. I left for Gaspar d'Azavedo, whom I found there as Factor and Alcayde Mor, a Regimento of what he had to do, and that he should not consent to war breaking out between the Kings. And because the King of Cotta sent to show me a Patent which he held from your Highness by which you ordained that his grandson, the son of his daughter, should be King, to whom the Kingdom did not appertain of right, and in view of the rumours I found there of his treasure, the which they now try to say he spent in securing favour for himself, I left instructions for Gaspar d'Azavedo, that if by chance the King should die, he should seize the treasure and not recognise his grandson as King, and that everything should remain in that state till he sent me information. I think, according to what I remember his telling me, that Jorge Cabrall had given him the same order.

As soon as I arrived here at Cochim, ambassadors came immediately from both the Kings; and because it is their custom to carry on negotiations with cunning and falsehoods, after hearing them and examining the documents they presented, wherein each one set out his rights, I was of opinion that it was impossible to give a definite ruling with regard to the inheritances of the Kings and the differences between them without sending to Ceylão a very trustworthy person to find out the ancient custom thereof and about the succession of the Kingdoms and seignories, and the agreement and compact which these Kings and the brother who is dead, entered into when they killed the uncle who was King of the whole Island,

and divided it among themselves; they also say that they divided the treasure, of which the bulk remained to the King of Cota, whom now they have killed.

And as it seemed more in the interest of your Highness that the Island should not belong to one alone but rather to several, former Governors did not interfere in this matter and left them to go on with their quarrels.

I gave a reply to the ambassadors that I was not able to give a decision between them as to what belonged to each, with the help of the documents and information which they brought and presented, and that I would send to Ceylão a trustworthy person to whom each of them should give the information which he should think supported his claim, and that he would make inquiries from aged people who ought to have the knowledge, so that a decision about their matters could be reached; and in view of the experience which I had of the Licentiate Sebastian Pinheiro regarding his truthfulness and good conscience, and as I was confident that he would do this work as befitted the service of God and of your Highness, without the bribes which they should offer or suggest being able to influence him, I sent him to hold the inquiry which was needed for the purpose and to report everything to me, so as to give a final decision according to justice.

In the Regimento which I gave him I instructed him how to act if the King of Ceylão should die, for he was already an old man; that he should seize on the treasure and not set up his grandson as King till he sent me word and I should send him orders as to what he should do regarding that matter. I further directed him to look into the administration of justice in the country, to wit, in respect of the Portuguese, for I had information that serious acts of brigandage and oppression were being carried on. In the Regimento it was not stated that he should seize the treasure but I gave him that instruction

separately, as I did not think that such a matter could be inserted here.

When he reached Ceylão the King was already dead twenty days without the Alcaide Mor having advised me of it or sent me a message, although the death was so foul a one as your Highness will see below; he immediately instructed him to send me word and he also informed me how he found the King dead and his grandson set up as King, and that he found no information about the treasure, but on the other hand they were making themselves out to be so poor that they did not have the money to pay the men.

The Patamares which they sent reached me at Goa on the 27th of June with letters from the said Sebastian Pinheiro and from the Alcaide Mor Gaspar d'Azavedo; in these both gave me an account of how the King was dead and it was thought that the Portuguese killed him. And the manner in which his death took place is the following.

Madune Pamdar his brother was already at war with him and occupied several districts out of those which Dom Jorge took from him, wherefore the King sent Trinele Pandar, his son in law, to the frontier of his territories to prevent his entering within them and waging war on him, while he himself with the Alcaide Mor and the men who served on his Guard, decided to go to Calane, which is a pagoda which stands close to a river a league or a little more from Cota, so as to support his son-in-law from there. They say that he was warned by some confidante of Madune that he had bribed certain Portuguese to kill him. This information, they say, reached the Queen his wife, and she had thrown herself at his feet and begged him not to go outside, and he replied to her that for thirty years he trusted in the Portuguese and he found them always so loyal that he would rather die than that suspicion regarding them should

enter his heart; these are words which cause so much greater sorrow that his death should have been what it was.

Gaspar d'Azavedo says that he also requested him not to go, and this to me is far greater proof than what is established by an inquiry. Nevertheless he went and with him were the Alcaide Mor and eighty Portuguese with their espingardas. These all posted themselves on guard round the house which he occupied and after he had dined he came to a window to see the Portuguese have their meal, and from their estancia they shot him with an espingarda and killed him.

Gaspar d'Azavedo did not hold any inquiry there regarding the matter; he only took the King and brought him back to his Palace at Cota. When he arrived there they say that the grandson told him that he would become a Christian and give him the treasure which should be found, and that he should set him up as King; and he without any of these things set him up as King because of a document which he held from your Highness, duly sealed with the leaden seal, in which it was ordered, as a favour to him, that he should be King on the death of his grandfather.

Gaspar d'Azavedo wrote to me that he asked for 50,000 cruzados for your Highness and they professed to be so poor that they did not have the money to give; instead they gave him certain bares of cinnamon over and above the pareas, and yet I had given him orders that if the King should die, he should seize the treasure.

As soon as this news reached me and I saw the letters from Sebastian Pinheiro and Gaspar d'Azavedo, by which they also wrote to me of the state of the country and the changes which took place there with the King's death, I summoned the Bishop together with the Captains, fidalgos and officers of your Highness with whom I am accustomed to take counsel, and after showing them the

letters which they wrote to me I requested them to give me their opinions as to what should be done under the circumstances. They unanimously agreed that if there were no news of the Rumes I should go in person to Ceylão, pointing out that I was going to exact justice regarding the death of the King and to restore to the Portuguese the good name which they had lost over it, and to pacify and settle the country; and with that I should take pains to obtain the treasure or the part of it which I could get, to relieve the great needs of India; as these were so great and of such a nature it would seem that this was come from God.

And because I was not strongly of this opinion, but on the other hand according to my judgment, your Highness ought to command your Governors not to go outside Goa at any time, and that they should control all parts from there through your Captains, unless it should be to give battle to the Rumes or for some other like reason, I asked them to give me their opinions in writing; the which they handed to the Secretary in whose possession they are..

Besides this I sent and consulted Francisco Bareto Abacaim and Vasco da Cunho Achange and both of them agreed with the others. Francisco Barêto further said that even though the Turks came to Ormuz, I ought to go to Ceylão; and Vasco da Cunha, that in asking for the treasure, I should proceed with moderation so that it should not appear I was going to secure that, but rather to exact justice for so great an outrage as was the treacherous killing of the King by the Portuguese.

As this was the opinion of everyone I resolved to do as they counselled me, and summoned them again and told them that I had decided to go to Ceylão if the Rumes should not come, and because definite news of their movements would be late in arriving, I asked them to advise me if I should send someone in advance, provided the

weather gave the opportunity for doing so, as it was already the rainy season. On this point opinions were divided, but the majority thought that I should send someone and that he should be my son, as the name of my son would have much weight; and as there were some difficulties in sending him, as your Highness knows, I decided to send the Bishop and Symão Botelho, the Vedor da Fazenda, because in regard to conversion and the Fazenda, they were better fitted than anyone else; and when they were prepared to start, the weather gave no opportunity till after the arrival of definite information that there were no Rumes, and as the weather was such as to make it possible for me to start I did so with a small number of vessels and a smaller number of men.

As soon as I reached Ceylão there came to visit me the grandson of the dead king, who is called the Great King, as his grandfather was, and his father Trinele Pandar. I told them how much I was grieved at the death of the King, and especially at the manner of it, and the suspicion that there was regarding it, which I did not believe; and that with reference to it I would exact the justice which they would see as soon as it was known who was guilty. I issued a proclamation that if anyone should reveal who killed the King, I would give him 2000 cruzados, and would request your Highness to give him your protection and a pardon for any offence he might have committed in the matter, so long as he was not the chief party. I saw the inquiry which Bastian Pinheiro had held, and with some further evidence which the Ouvidor General recorded on my instructions, I ordered the arrest of Gaspar d'Azavedo, the Alcayde Mor, and sequestered all his property.

The next day I summoned Trinele Pandar, the King's father, and the Camareiro Mor, who is the second person in the Kingdom, and who held that office by virtue of a Carta of your Highness, and I told them that they

saw well what I had done regarding the death of the King, and that if they wished to make any request with reference to it, I was ready to comply with it; and I sent a similar message to the Queen through the Bishop who was going to visit and console her on my behalf. After this I told them that Gaspar d'Azavedo had acted wrong and that he should not have set up the grandson of the dead King, because your Highness had made him that mercê owing to his grandfather sending to tell him that he was going to become a Christian, as they could see in a letter which your Highness wrote to him through Mestre Francisco of the Society of Jesus; and that he had also thus written to Dom João de Crasto; that if the said King did not carry out what his ambassador arranged with your Highness, he should not for his benefit comply with the Regulations which he had sent; it was therefore necessary to see as to what decision they arrived, and that I could not fail to do justice and what your Highness commanded.

The ambassador who went there, who is called Pandita, at once tried to deny that he had said any such thing, and suggested that possibly the Interpreter had said it on his own account. I told him that there was no need of further variations, because your Highness' letter was sufficient. They requested that I should give them an opportunity of considering the question and said they would give me a reply the next day.

The following day they sent to tell me through Amtonio Pessoa, whom they knew well owing to the time that he was there as Factor and Alcaide Mor, that in regard to the King becoming a Christian, this could not be done at the time, owing to the country being in the state in which I saw it, and because the bulk of the people had gone over to Madune; that after it was pacified they would give me a reply on that point. And that in order that I should pacify it and recognise in your Highness'

name the grandson as King and hand over to him his lands wick Madune had taken from him, they were willing to give me all the treasure of the old King which remained, for your Highness, and they were further willing that all the children of those who were or in the future should become Christians there, should succeed to the estates of their fathers, just as in the lands of Christians.

I accepted this on the advice of the Bishop and of the religious I brought with me and of the rest of the people whom I had there for the purpose, and an agreement was drawn up regarding this; with this I went to Cota and I was at once visited by the King, and on the next day I went to visit him, and when I came out of his house I instructed Simão Botelho, the Vedor da Fazenda, and the Secretary and Antonio Pessoa to bring me their record of the agreement, and also the Licenciante Gaspar Jorge, your Highness' Procurador, and the Clerk of the Fazenda; and I requested the Bishop and the Custodio of the Order of S. Francisco and the Padre Amtonio Gomes of the Society of Jesus, that they should go in their Company to receive the treasure, the which I ordered to be received by weight, number, and measure and in public.

As soon as they went they offered 22,000 pardaos sorted out in Portugueses, ducats and xerafims, which they had ready for the purpose, and some articles of gold and silver, all which might be worth forty or fifty thousand pardaos. This they were not willing to accept and they returned without anything, for it appeared a matter without a beginning or an end to take this trifling sum of money where there was hope of so much.

The next day I went to the house of the King and publicly asked them if they knew that that Kingdom of Ceylão was your Highness' and that they held it from your hand and that, as was the truth, in order to make the grandson King in your Highness' name so long as

your favour and good will should last, and to give him back his lands, and for my offering to go and destroy Ceitavaqua and to give him a Captain with men to destroy Madune they promised me the treasure which remained of the King without my asking them. They said that it was so. Of this I caused a record to be drawn up and because I had gone only to exact justice for the death of the King.

Afterwards I told Trinele Pandar, the King's father, that I knew that he and the Camareiro Mor had divided the treasure of the King which remained, among themselves, and because this treasure belonged to his minor son, even if they had not promised it to your Highness, I was obliged to look after his interests; that I asked them not to take it ill that they should remain in the house of the Vedor da Fazenda till an agreement was reached as to what should be done about it; and I sent him with him to his house and sent the Camareiro Mor and the Pandita to a room below where I was lodged. Afterwards the King and his grandmother and mother sent to request me that since the treasure belonged to them and their grandson, that I should consent to release Trinele Pandar and the Camareiro Mor, and should order that pressure should be brought to bear on the eunuchs of the King and on the writers of his fazenda, because they knew about the treasure which the King possessed and would give particulars of it. They at once handed over the eunuchs as well as the writers to the Ouvidor General that they might not say they had escaped and could not be found. I directed the Ouvidor General to prepare a record of how the Queens and the King asked me to bring pressure to bear on the eunuchs, as no one else could have better knowledge of the treasure, as everything was entrusted to them, and the heathen Kings are not in the habit of revealing their treasures to their heirs except when they are about to

die, and the King's death was so sudden that he had no chance of mentioning it or of writing an *ola* about it according to their custom.

I ordered the Ouvidor General to take the said eunuchs to a room and in the presence of the Licentiate Gaspar Jorge, your Highness' Proctor, and the Licentiate Sebastian Pinheiro, make the necessary inquisition from them, and if they were satisfied that they were not speaking the truth, he should proceed by torture. He acted accordingly, and as they would not reveal anything he put them to the torture, as your Highness will see from the copy of the Auto which was made of that matter which I am sending you.

The men confessed nothing; only one man said that he would point out the place where there were twenty coffers of coin; but when they took him there he went back on his word and nothing was found.

When this was finished Trinele Pandar, who was still in the house of the Vedor da Fazenda, sent me a message that in truth he did not know where the King's treasure was nor if there were any treasure, because in truth the King never showed it to him; but if I were prepared to replace his son in the possession of the lands which Madune had taken from him, and to destroy Ceytavaqua, and to give him a Captain to remain there with him, and to help him to destroy Madune, that he and his son and his brother would become Christians and would give me 200,000 *pardaos* for the expences of the armada, namely, a hundred thousand immediately and the rest after my return from Ceytavaqua; and further a half of the old King's treasure which should be found, at whatever place or time that may be, and also the pagoda which was in the palace and a half of all the gold, money and jewels which should be found in it for your Highness, and a half of the jewels which he had shown for your Highness, to be given to the Queen our Lady.

I discussed this offer with the Bishop, the Custodio, Antonio Gomes, and the fidalgos, Captains and officers of your Highness who were in Ceylão and invited their opinions on the point. In view of the inquisitions which had been made and the little hope of our being able to find anything else, and the fact that further acts of severity would seem strange and discreditable to the Portuguese, and that even if such action should be taken there was no certainty that they could lead to securing the treasure, because they asserted that there was none and offered several reasons for that, based on the revenues of the Kingdom as on the expences the King had incurred, and the loans which he had made: they unanimously were of opinion that I should accept the offer, and they submitted their opinions over their signatures.

When this was decided upon I went at once to the house where the King and his father were. He kissed the cross of the Order which I wore at the neck, and the Bishop's hand, and ordered them to hand over the pagoda and went there at once, and with him there went the padres and the Vedor da Fazenda and the Secretary and the Escrivão of the Fazenda and your Highness' Proctor and the Pandita with the King's officials to weigh the articles of gold which should be found and to divide them; and similarly the jewels and the coin which should be there. The pagoda was in a condition which did not render it possible to say Mass there at once, because my desire was that everything should be completed at once.

They remained there two days examining the peças of the pagoda and the articles in it, for there was much delay in separating those of gold from those which were of copper and brass gilt, of which there was a large quantity. The King and his father sent to tell me that all the people of the Cidade of Cota had fled and also from the whole of the country, and that all or the major-

ity of his Captains had gone over to Madune; and that it was the truth that although my son Dom Fernando had taken the precaution to watch the city with all the fidalgos and men who went with me, it was not possible to find means to prevent their going; and that all this was due to the pagoda, which they said was going to be a Church, and that the King was becoming a Christian: that he begged me, as the gold of the pagoda was all removed, that I should restore the pagoda to him, and that after my return from Ceytavaqua the King should be made a Christian and the pagoda a Church, for he believed that with any other arrangement no people would be left with him.

The Bishop, the religious, and all who were with me considered the King's application reasonable and should be granted, for otherwise it would be very difficult to overthrow Madune and to pacify the country, as afterwards was seen by experience. I ordered the pagoda to be handed over to him, but nevertheless no people came back to the King. He began to hand over the 100,000 pardaos, and after giving the peças of gold and silver they did not surrender more than eighty, and half the jewels, and of what was found in the pagoda which I ordered them to value and they valued them. I again pressed them completely to fulfil the contract which they had made and signed, but they would not at any time do so, declaring that they had not the power nor the means: that I should take it from the revenue of the country. After delaying some days I returned to Columbo and ordered Cota to be evacuated, so as to compel them to fulfil what they arranged with me; but they would give nothing and always maintained that they had nothing.

Nevertheless I thought it necessary for your Highness' service and for the credit of the Portuguese not to leave the business in this condition, but to go to Ceytavaqua in search of Madune and to fight with him if he were

willing to fight; and as the Frades also were of this opinion, I started for there as it seemed to me that Madune would be found very different from what he has been, which turned out true.

I at once got ready and started and arranged my men; and as my son Dom Fernando was returning to India very ill, I gave the vanguard to Dom João Amrriquez, who bore himself in this affair as a very gallant cavaleiro; I went immediately behind him and in the rear I placed the Secretary with the Royal Standard. In every direction we had plenty of difficulty, the which was not expected nor did it seem possible. For Madune had a great force of men and numerous espingardeiros and archers, and the roads so strongly held with tranquerias and estancias of Artillery that the soldiers of Italy could not construct them better.

I sent Bastiam de Saa to the first tranqueira by the river in navios, and he reached it before Dom João did by land, and captured it. They fired a volley from their espingardas without doing him any harm, which looks like a miracle; and I assure your Highness that it would have been a grave loss to your service, because he is a man for whom a distinguished career can be expected.

As soon as Dom João came he pushed forward and went to take another tranqueira and he reached a spot called Calambell. Here Madune had his arrayal which he abandoned as soon as he knew that the first tranqueira was captured, and retired to Ceytavaqua; and as the people were greatly worn out I stopped there two days and I sent to inspect the road and it was in such a condition that it was not possible to advance by it. I decided to open another fresh road through the mountain. And Madune is so wicked and so cunning that he sent to discuss terms of peace, and to say that he was willing to place himself in my power, in order to get the

opportunity of doing on the road which I had begun, what he did on the other; and as it was he gave us enough trouble. I assure your Highness that in crossing a river at the base of the mountain where he tried to stop us, the fidalgos and also some soldiers effected this with a degree of labour and peril that it was not possible to undergo as much with Turks or Moors of Africa; and by force we entered the mountain with some wounded by espingardas and some of the enemy killed.

This mountain was so rugged and perilous and was defended in such a manner, that after it was passed and they were routed, it filled with astonishment the men who made the attack.

When they abandoned the mountain and the estancias which they had alongside the river, as they thought that we would go by it, I advanced to Ceytavaqua in pursuit of them. Madune seeing himself defeated, drew back and took the road to some other places hidden among very rugged mountains, and his men were scattered and retreated and I found Ceytavaqua empty of people and property; for when they knew that I intended to effect an entrance through the mountain and to make a road by that, they abandoned it altogether. I remained there three days and sent word to the King and his father that I was short of food, that I had carried out what I had promised them, and that there remained for them to do what they had promised me. They came and told me that they too were short of food and that the few men he had were all running away, and that the King could not become a Christian because the people would not come to him, and that if I finished by killing or destroying Madune, he would become a Christian then; that as for the money he always thought that Madune would give it so that I should not go there nor destroy his country, and that he would make some settlement on that point; and that they had a suspicion that if the late King had

any treasure in his palace, it was in two rooms which were there, the which they were not able to dig up, for it was their custom not to dig up anything; that I should send and dig them up, and of anything I found I should have the half and they would pay what they were bound to pay.

The next morning we set out for Cota very swiftly and as if we were fleeing, and I gave orders to burn down Ceytavaqua and Madune's houses, which were very sumptuous, and all his magazines and pleasure houses and the entire city and to destroy everything of his which could be destroyed, and to burn down all the pagodas, for the disobedience of Madune and as a punishment for the death of the King who was killed at his bidding and with his connivance; and we went in fustas down the river on the way to Columbo, with the resolution to order the arrest of Trinele Pandar and to take him to India, and to leave the King and the Camareiro Mor to rule the country, and a Captain with men to help and defend him. And that nothing might remain undone to find out if the treasure was there, before arresting Trinele Pandar I sent the Bishop and the Vedor da Fazenda and your Highness' Proctor and Amtonio Pessoa to Cota, so that he might show them the rooms in which he wished the excavations to be made, and I instructed the Vedor da Fazenda and Amtonio Pessoa to take men with them under some pretence, and that if the treasure were not found they should arrest Trinele Pandar, offering him first that they should become Christians, and that I wanted nothing, but would return to them everything which they had given, because in these regions your Highness did not wish for or claim anything more than the service which was rendered to our Lord, on their realising the error in which they stood. But he is so evil a man that as the money could not be found where he bid them to dig, he escaped into the

forest and declared that Portuguese warned him to escape as he was going to be arrested.

And that night before Trinele Pandar fled, Amtonio Pessoa brought to me to Columbo the Bramene Pamdita, as he considered it certain that he was the man who prevented the King from becoming a Christian, and that he also knew how Trinele Pandar was able to know where the King's treasure was, if it really existed.

The next day the Vedor da Fazenda brought to me the Camareiro Mor to explain why Trinele Pandar had fled. He declared that he did not know, and that he was very grieved about that. I dissimulated with him and sent him back to Cota and was unwilling to arrest him, so as to see if it were possible to get Trinele into my power; and I showed that I wished to have done with them altogether and not to do anything for them, as they were unwilling to become Christians as they had promised, and did not fulfil anything of what they agreed with me; and I ordered all the Portuguese who were in Cota, as well as all the artillery, to go, as I thought that with this they would submit and do everything they could. And as Madune was already defeated and Ceytavaqua destroyed and burnt without the very name of it being left, they did not experience the fear which I thought they would have; and they continued to remain indifferent, without complying with what I wanted or giving me a reply. After directing an inquiry in order to see if it was possible to seize Trinele Pandar, news reached me from Cochim that the King of Tanor had gone to the Pepper Kingdom and was trying to lead the King astray, persuading him not to make peace, for which he was already quite prepared and had so written to me; and that he was going about rousing up the whole country and causing all the Lords of Malavar to rise up against us, and that in consequence it was not possible to secure pepper.

On seeing this, together with the opinion of the people who were in Millao, I determined to go and to leave Dom Amrriquez in Ceylão with 300 men to pacify the country and to keep it in peace and to try and find out at some future date if there were treasure and where it was; and I sent word through him and the Vedor da Fazenda to the King and the Queen his grandmother that I was going away, and was leaving Dom João Amrriquez there to complete the destruction of Madune, since he had failed to carry out what he agreed with me, although Madune was driven outside the country. And I ordered the Camareiro Mor to be brought under arrest, stating that I wished to take him along with the Pandita to India as hostages and witnesses of how I had fulfilled towards him what they wanted from me, while they did not carry out what they promised me, and in order to see if through their means I could learn about the treasure; for I thought that on seeing themselves in these straits, they would reveal the treasure if it really existed.

The King is extraordinarily fond of the Camareiro Mor and he is so devoted to him by reason of his office and because he brought him up and always carried him on his shoulder.

Trinele also sent to make the same request of me, although in truth he was glad of my taking him so as to be left alone with the King, and to kill him, as they say he is anxious to do so as to set himself up as King; for they assert in Ceylão that this child who they say is his son, is not so but is the son of the grandfather himself. He sent me a message that as a hostage and security for their becoming Christians when Madune should be outside the Island, and for carrying out what they promised your Highness, they were willing to give me a son of the late King whom he had by a sister of the Queen after the ambassador went away from there, and your Highness gave him the *merçê* that the grandson should

be King; to which child the Kingdom belongs of right, as he is the son of the late King: and that I should make him a Christian at once, and if they did not carry out their agreement, that I should make him King and send them outside the Island; and that they would immediately hand over all the sea ports of the Island to Dom João Amriquez, and Trinele would return to Cota, as soon as I came; that then he would not come with shame of my seeing his face because he had fled.

This seemed a good settlement ready to hand, and one which I ought to accept; because if I took away the Camareiro Mor, the whole country would be disorganised and lost; and if I pacified it, there was the possibility of my learning in future if there was any treasure of the King, and what was done with it; and that if your Highness should decide that it is to your service, that Trinele Pandar and the Camareiro Mor should be arrested and inquiry made from them by torture if there were any treasure. This I did not venture to do as I did not know if you would approve of it, considering that they were your Vassals and trusted in me and placed themselves in my hands, and I was looking for the treasure because they stated and agreed that they gave it to your Highness: it might be possible to do it very easily without danger, expence or trouble; I agreed that they should give me the Prince and pay the men who remained with Dom João Amriquez and that I would surrender the Camareiro Mor and go away.

Once more they changed their minds, declaring that the Prince's kinsmen on the mother's side had run away with him, for if the child became a Christian they would not agree to receive him in the country as King. I went on board taking the Camareiro Mor and the Pandita with me. The King sent word to me on the sea through Dom João Amriquez to wait there one day longer, and that they would hand over the Prince, to

make him a Christian and to hold him as a hostage for their fulfilling their obligations; and that if I made the child a Christian I should know that he with the whole country would be the same.

In view of what they had written to me from Cochim I was unwilling to wait, and I left Pero Botelho in a caravela and entrusted the Camareiro Mor to him, with a Regimento that if they should give him the Prince, made a Christian, before everyone, he should release the Camareiro Mor and bring the Prince to me. Two days after my departure from there, they brought the child and made him a Christian with great solemnity at the monastery, and handed him over to Pero Botelho, who surrendered the Camareiro Mor; and they further made an immediate payment in money to Dom João to pay the men who remained with him for six months; for they say that within this time they will carry out what remained, both about the money and the conversion.

I certify to your Highness that this business of Ceyllão has embarrassed me in such a fashion that I do not comprehend it; because when I passed by Ceylão they gave me the news of the King having much money. I asked him to lend 100,000 pardaos to your Highness as they told me he had the money to lend; he would not lend me ten thousand. Now when he is dead I ordered an inquisition to be held from some men who I thought could have the knowledge if there were any treasure, and I learnt from some witnesses that at the time Nuno Freyre was Alcaide Mor in Ceylão, the King was hard pressed by Madune and sent to your Highness' factory seventy coffers which they said formed a part of his treasure. And now after the King's death, they declare themselves so poor that they have not got the means for buying rice; and what they say is that the treasure was not so great as they made out, owing to the heavy expences the Kind had incurred, but that there was treasure which

Trinele Pandar and the Camareiro Mor and the Pandita shared. But if that be so they dissimulate with such skill as to make one believe that it is not so.

And that your Highness may know that what moved me to go to Ceylão was the talk that there was about there being treasure and also if you so desire that the inquiry into the matter and the search may be repeated, I am sending your Highness some instruments which were drawn up with many witnesses of what they saw of it and of the conviction they reached regarding it.

From Cochym the 27th of January 1552.

I kiss your Highness' royal hands.

Dom Affonso.

For the King our Lord.

Corpo Chron. P 1. Maço 87. Doc. 73.

DOCUMENT 60

Dom Affonço de Noronha to Dom João III.

... And because this letter should be entirely one of good news, as I wish with our Lord's help, always to be able to send you from this country, I desire to give you this news as well, as it is so much to the service of our Lord and of your Highness, in view of the zeal which you have shown therein and the satisfaction you derive therefrom.

This news is that I have here with me three Christian Kings who, in view of the age at which they came for baptism, appear to receive Christian doctrine in their cradle; and I hope in our Lord that they may yield the fruit which your Highness desires, and very different from that of the King of Tanor, as is needed for their salvation and the spread of our Faith.

One of them is the true King of Ceylão, for he is a son of the late King by a sister of the Queen, as will be seen in a letter which I write to you about Ceylão, where I gave an account of him and the reason why I received him and directed him to come to India. He is being brought up in my house as he is a child of four years, a little more or less, and he is of such a disposition that it is possible to expect all good from him. As soon as I reach Goa I shall arrange for his education and the safety of his life, for he is the Lord of the whole Island by right and reason.

The second King is the Lord of Triquinamale, which is in the same Island of Ceylão on the side of Choromandell, who was recently converted. His land is very fertile and thickly populated, and he will be between seven and eight years. I entrusted him to the Padre Amtonio Gomez to

bring up and educate in the College of Sam Paulo, as a work for the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, because he was baptised by them in the Pescaria, as I have already written to your Highness in another letter.

The third is the King of the Islands of Maldiva who became a Christian here on the persuasion and teaching of the Fathers of the Society. He will be between eighteen and twenty years, a moço of good parts, and if taught the doctrine and admonished, seems likely to yield good fruit. He placed himself in my hands that in the name of your Highness and as a matter of your own, I should look after him and give such orders as I think fit regarding him and his life. The Bishop and Amtonio Gomez and the Fathers of the Order of Sam Domingos think that he should marry a Portuguese wife, for if he should guide himself and live as a Christian he would forget the customs and life of the Moors. My decision was to wait for your Highness' order on the point.

Cochim, 27th of January 1552.

Dom Affonço.

Corpo Chron. 1. 87. 71. (Extract.)

DOCUMENT 61

Frey Joanino to Dom João III.

... I went with the Viceroy to Ceylão. My chief intention was to visit the padres who reside there. There also went Dominican Padres and those of the Society, for I asked the Viceroy to take them to help us in the work, as I thought the King would become a Christian. It seems that he did not deserve that from our Lord owing to his wickedness. The Padres returned to India, ours continued at the task they had begun in which they underwent great hardship, chiefly because the King was a heathen. From this they received much sorrow but none the less they made many Christians although they may not be such good ones: they will be that in the future.

These are the places where the Padres live. There is a monastery where the Guardião stays. At Negumbo there is a church, and another at Berberym; at Gale, which is the chief sea port, is a third, and also at Lycão. At each of these there is a Frade to baptise and teach those who join the faith.

As to what the Viceroy did in Ceylão, it is possible people have written to your Highness. Ears to hear, but believe what the Viceroy is writing to you for he will write the truth about everything, like the virtuous and godfearing man that he is. Everything he did in Ceylão was on advice, and he did nothing arbitrarily or for the money or peças they gave him. The Bishop and I and Antonio Gomez of the Society were present at everything with your Highness' officials, the Veador of the Fazenda, the Secretary and the Procurator who took charge of

everything in our sight; the Viceroy was anxious for us to be present as witnesses of his scrupulousness.

Cochym, the 28th of January 1552.

Frey Joanino, Custodio.

To the King our Lord from the Custodio.

Corpo Chron. I. 100. 88.

DOCUMENT 62

Simão Botelho to Dom João III.

I do not enlarge on the expedition to Ceilão and the incidents thereof, and the King's death, because the Viceroy is doing so in detail; but methinks that as the scheme was concerned with treasure and Christianity, matters so foreign one to the other, our Lord did not wish that it should be done, nor was any of them effected, except for such a trifle of one and of the other that the money and jewels could not come to 90,000 pardaos, but I do not specify a definite quantity, because there are some things to be sold, and I do not know what they will fetch, as they are set with gems. No Christian was made except a little child, a son of the dead King, who was given by force. And as everyone who was there is going to write to your Highness about this business, I think I stand excused from doing so; from them your Highness can know if I served you therein well or ill. One thing only I shall mention, which no one will get out of my head: that there is treasure there, although it will not be much, and someone has concealed it.

The Viceroy decided to send a certain Alvaro Mendes, a goldsmith, who they say understands precious stones, and who came last year to Bisnaga from there, both to sell some jewels out of those which were obtained in Ceilão, as they were not suitable for sending to the Queen our Lady, according to the opinion of all, and they could be sold for much more in Bisnaga, as they are of the kind which they largely employ and esteem, because they are topazes and catseyes: and also in order to get some good diamonds for your Highness with this money. Alvaro Mendes promises to do good work over this and begs

to be given as a mercê the office of Factor of the Gems. They ought to know there if he is suitable for the work; if it is decided that someone must go, a Portuguese is preferable to a stranger; nevertheless there should go with him a respectable and trustworthy man as clerk.

Simão Botelho to the King, 30th Jan. 1552.

Gaveta 15, Maço 19. No. 37. (Extract.)

DOCUMENT 63

The Mesteres of Goa to Dom João III.

Most High and Most Powerful Prince and King, our Senhor,

We four Mesteres of our very noble and ever loyal Cidade of Goa kiss your Highness' royal hands and always pray to our Lord to prolong your life and add to your royal estate.

Senhor, as your loyal people we shall tell you here certain truths as to our King and Lord.

Firstly in India there is no justice either in the Viceroy or in those who have to administer it.

Senhor, when the Turks were preparing to advance on Hormuz, and the fustas which came from the Strait brought the news in May, the Viceroy went on sleeping; in the beginning of September news came that the Turks were at Aden and were moving on Hormuz, and the Viceroy slept. Later, a catur came from Ormuz and reported that the Turks were already inwards from Cape Rasallgate and that there were twenty five galleys against six. Then he began to get ready, but so slowly that the Turks had the opportunity of capturing Mascate with sixty Portuguese. A certain Amtonio of Lysboa was Captain there and he surrendered without fighting. Had he fought, we could have checked the whole Turkish force. He was a Chatym who bought the fort for money. From Mascate they went on to Ormuz and sacked the city and bombarded the fort and then started for Basora. All this was the result of the great delay and lack of zeal. On the 20th of November the Viceroy was delaying at Chaull with an Armada when Fernam Farto of Ormuz came with the news that the Turks were gone to Basora. All the

time, Senhor, was spent at playing odd and even and amusing himself.

All the anxiety is to collect money by every possible manner and means; from some it is got by violence, from others by persuasion. So amazing is the oppression that may it please our Lord that the plagues which men invoke may not come to pass. As your Highness will have information there of this business, we pass over the rest.

Senhor, we swear to you by the faith which we owe to God and your Highness that the Vereadores are not writing to you the truth as they should. Jorge Garces is a Vereador and a servant of the old Marques and the Viceroy gave him money. And Manoel de Sa he appointed Vereador in place of Manoel de Vasquonsellos and gave him a discharge for six hundred pardaos from his account: and to Payo Ruy d'Araujo, Vereador, he paid four hundred pardaos, and therefore they do not write the truth to you.

Senhor, the Turks intend to come again to Ormuz and come better prepared with ships and men. Now they came with twenty nine galleys and eight hundred men for fighting: if they return and find Dom Affonço in India, Ormuz will be lost by the negligence and stupidity of the Viceroy.

Senhor, we remind you of the death of the King of Seyllom and of the barbarities which were committed over his treasure. Such horrors were done that the good name of the Portuguese was destroyed, and there is not one Moor who trusts a Portuguese. They killed the King of Ceyllam and they robbed his treasure. This is certain, Senhor, that the Moors are talking of nothing else.

Senhor, we inform you that the Viceroy sent to ask from Ydallcão a loan of a hundred thousand pardaos in gold and he told the ambassador that in view of their friendship the Viceroy should come to his aid with men

and bombardas as he was besieged by enemies: instead the Viceroy was sending to ask him for money; so that up till now the ambassador is there. He also sent to ask for money from Yzamelluco and Francisco Manhos went there. He also sent to Cananor to ask for money from Quajax Sumasady. This is a matter at which many Moors are amazed, for they say that the King of Portugall, though he is a mighty Senhor, is begging for loans.

This City lent your Viceroy 22,000 pardaos, in spite of numerous acts of oppression which they did to it, and it gave this loan in view of its devotion; with that they paid the men of the armada who went with the Viceroy.

Senhor, your Highness should send to India a man of sound judgment, knowledge and zeal, who, when a matter has to be dealt with, will not issue numerous documents one contradicting the other with regard to anything. Send Fidalgos who are men of counsel, for here they have none save Francisco Bareto, who was Capitan of Basaym.

Senhor, they prepare here documents regarding the expenditure and the Magazine; but if your Highness order others to be prepared by the Dominican or Franciscan fathers, they will be very different from those which they prepare now; for they are drawn up with fear and the men send their souls to hell in fear.

Senhor, we remind you to give the forts to men of experience who are feared by the enemies and who rule the forts well.

Senhor, two of the Turks' fustas came during two summers to this coast and have sacked it without our ever being able to do anything to them; all this was due to negligence and so great is our cowardice that we fear them and this is the reason of their giving fustas to boys.

Senhor, we beseech you, for pity, pity, pity, help us, Senhor, for we are sinking to the bottom; and if we fall, our State is never going to rise again. For the love of

the death and suffering of our Lord, do not let us perish. If we are lost, there are bound to be lost many innocent people who are in this country, and they are many.

Senhor, this letter comes without being sealed for we do not dare to ask for that so that they may not know we are writing to your Highness.

Senhor, we beg of you to tear up this letter, and not to let it be seen by anyone save your Highness, because they will kill us. For Pero Fernandez who writes for the Queen our Lady is a great friend of the Vereador Jorge Garses Vereador, who looks after his interests here. For the love of our Lord, as we are writing to you the truth, let no mischief befall us.

God Almighty increase the days of your life and your Royal Estate.

From the Mesteres of your city of Goa the 25th of November 1552.

Martym Gomes

Diogo . . .

Alvaro Fernandez.

To the King our Lord, from the Mesteres of his Cidade of Goa.

Corpo Chronologico Parte 1. Maço 89. Doc. 21.

NOTE I

ARMARIA

The successful endeavours of Conde Henrique and his supporters to break the power of the Moors, prepared the way for the growth of the military strength of Portugal. Under the first King D. Henrique (1143—1185) and his immediate successors, warfare was conducted in accordance with what was the generally accepted practise throughout the rest of Europe in the days of chivalry, under the guidance, however, of experienced leaders from the North, whose greater skill in the use of siege engines contributed very largely to the successes at Olix-bona, Silves and Leiria, from which Portugal immediately sprang into existence. This medieval system continued practically unaffected by the changes and improvements which had come into operation in the North; and it is still more surprising to find that the Portuguese, unlike the Castilians, did not learn from their enemies, the Arabs, to employ gunpowder in warfare, which these last had done since, at least, the seventh century. It is true that Ruy de Pina, and after him Duarte Nunes de Leão, in their Chronicles of D. Sanches I. (1185—1211) (1) speak of “tiros e grossos de polvora”, being used by the Portuguese at Silves (1189); but none of the other writers who have dealt with this siege, including among them a German Crusader (2) who took part in that war, makes any reference

(1) Pina, Chron. de D. Sanches I., Lisboa 1727.
Duarte Nunes de Leão, Primeira Parte das Crônicas dos reis de Portugal reformadas, Lisbon 1600; 1677; 1774.

(2) Further information regarding him will appear in: Fitzler, Deutschland und Portugal vom 12. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart, which is in course of preparation.

to a novelty of this important nature, which could not have failed to have been recorded by even a casual writer(1)

GUNPOWDER

Whether the knowledge of gunpowder was borrowed by China from India or by India from China, it is not open to doubt that the Indians in their war with Alexander the Great employed machines by which stone-balls were discharged by means of fire against city walls.(2) The maritime commerce between China, India and Arabia led to the rapid interchange of knowledge, and as early as A. D. 690 Elmacinus in his History of the Saracens(3) mentions "mangani et mortarii" being employed at the siege of Hagiageo Meakk and discharged by means of naphtha and fire. This statement receives support from what is recorded in the Chronicle of the Emperor Alphons Raymund (l. II. ch. 41), that at the siege of Toledo the Moors used missiles of fire and "tormenta" to discharge stones and lanças, and scorpions to shoot arrows, and slings and battering rams and vineas.

How far advanced was the use of gunpowder for offensive purposes, appears from Schehab Aldin Alabas Ben Fadhl's description of the various classes of artillery employed in 1249. "The scorpions fastened around, wriggle and hiss, set on fire with saltpetre, and therefore bursting, they flash forth and burn. It was a marvel to behold the engine, put in motion, spread like a cloud through the air, making a terrific uproar just as the thunder does, and belching forth fire in every direction, to break to pieces, to set alight, to reduce all things to ashes." (4)

(1) See: Gazzera, Memoria della Academia de Turino.

(2) Th. Heyde, De ludis orientalibus LLII, quorum prior historiam Shabiludii continet etc. Oxonii, 1694.

(3) Elmacinus, Historia Saracenica, Lugd. B. 1625. "Morteiros and manganellas" put in motion by means of naphtha and fire.

(4) Noticia in Manoel Pinheiro Chagas, Historia de Portugal, vol. I.

He speaks of balls of iron ejected by means of artificial fire, produced from "naphtha" and "barude". The term naphtha was employed at that time for a mixture of bitumen and sulphur, and barude was the name given by Persians, Turks and Arabs for saltpetre, and is still used among them for gunpowder. (1) Half a century later Abu Abdallah Ebu Alkathibe wrote: "he caused to be discharged with a roar against the strong fort that great engine of naphtha and ball by bringing near to it the fire" (2).

At the beginning of the 14th century the ingredients employed by the Arabs were Saltpetre, Sulphur and Naphtha, as is frequently mentioned by their writers, whose works were familiar to the alchemists of the period. The German Schwartz (1320) is generally credited with the invention in Europe, but already before 1344 Petrarch could write of Arab artillery as a wellknown matter, (3) and there is also reference to powder being used in France at this time. (4) If Schwartz did make powder, he might well have obtained his knowledge from available Arab books, and Casiri is probably right, when he denies that powder is an European invention.

Powder was generally regarded with terror, as something diabolical, but in practice its destructive effects were not proportionate to the noise and smell it produced. The early bombardeiros in Germany had to take an oath that they would not employ poisoned balls or "secret fire" or discharge their guns at night. (5)

Guncasting was little understood, and the cannons produced were rudely made. There was no fixed scale

(1) See Fitzler, op. cit.

(2) Abu Abdallah's book, mentioned *ibidem*.
For a further reference see Hassan Ben Omar, *Aura do vento orientalis*.

(3) Petrarca: *De remediis utriusque fortunae* lib. II. 1474.

(4) Froissart, *Le premier* (2d, 3e et le quart) volume des *Chronique de France* etc. (1326 à 1406)—impr. vers 1495. 4 vol. in—fol.

(5) Fitzler, op. cit.

to regulate the charge of powder, which was left to the discretion of the individual gunner, with the result that the cannon frequently burst from overloading. Indeed it was not till the battle of the Harengs (1429) that it can be said that the artillery decided the result of the fight, and even at Aljubarrota (1385) the sixteen great bombardas or trons which hurled globes of stone from the van of the Castilians, were ineffective to check the courageous Portuguese who had no Artillery (1) of their own. Aljubarotta finally established the independence of Portugal and gave D. João I. his throne, and the great monuments of Batalha and the Carmo at Lisbon were the thank-offering of the country for its deliverance from foreign rule.

The bombarda which for so long was regarded as typical of all artillery, is thus described in the Chron. Travessina of the 15th century: "It is an instrument or very strong tube of iron with a large mouth in which are placed the round stones which they purpose to discharge; the hinder portion is twice as long as the anterior, and therein is put some powder made of saltpetre, sulphur etc."; and Foesard speaks of one which was "fifty feet in length; by day the report thereof would be heard at a distance of 5 leagues and ten at night" (2).

"Bem he verdade que este Lusitano
Primeiro foi no mar com nome eterno
Que usou da dura fruta de Vulcano
E o salitrado aljofar de Inferno." (3)

This verse still preserves the memory of João Gonçalves Zarco, the tutor of the Infante D. Henrique, who is po-

(1) Fernão Lopes, Chronica d'El Rei João 1 de boa memoria, Lisb. 1644.

(2) Foesard, vol. II. cap. 103.

(3) "Verily this Lusitanian was the first to win eternal fame on the deep, with the unyielding fruit of Vulcan, and Nitre, the pearls of Hell." See Man. Thon, Insulana, I. 83.

pularly stated to have been the first to put gunpowder to practical use in the new kingdom. Its local manufacture, however, was unsatisfactory, and the imported article was held in esteem. About 1420 two of the famous gunfounders of Nürnberg, Niklas Meerscheider and Michel Lunder, sent falcões to Lisbon with some men experienced in casting the necessary balls, and in 1442 Affonso Vasques was serving as "Mestre in making the saltpetre and powder" with an allowance of 2000 reis brancos and six covados of Bristol-cloth. (1) There are also numerous references in old documents to a powdermill which was opened in Portugal by a German from Nürnberg or Augsburg. This must have been before 1466, in which year a carta de merce was issued to the German "our bombardeiro (2) Mestre Balthasar" in which powder-making was treated as a familiar subject. By this carta the Mestre was authorised "to extract saltpetre in all parts within our realms wherever he may be and keep entirely for himself all the profits therefrom, paying to us those our dues which we are entitled to receive from him . . . Given at Extremoz on the 14th of July 1466." (3) This shows that there was a recognised royalty payable to the King for collecting saltpetre. The powdermills continued under foreign supervision; for instance in 1490 "our bombardeiro Mestre Yorge", another German, was appointed "to teach the said profession to Pedro, the Fleming, both to make powder and other articles used in war, of which he has knowledge" on a salary of six millreis a year with food, clothing and shoeing. (4)

(1) Sousa Viterbo, *Artes e Industrias em Portugal*, Separata do Instituto.

(2) Originally named troeiros or mestres de trons. See Pedro de Azevedo, *Rev. da Historia*, vol. III. 167 (1434 and 1435).

(3) and (4) Original documents will appear in Fitzler, *op. cit.* — See also Sousa Viterbo, *A fabrica da polvora*, Separata do Instituto.

It was at the Casa da Polvora that the Powder was manufactured, and whatever its quality may have been, Ferdinand and Isabella in 1486, while besieging Malaga, were glad to receive from D. João II. as a loan a caravella laden with "a vast quantity of powder and saltpetre, all of his grace". (1) In the time of D. Manuel this Casa stood at Barcarena near Queluz.

As a rule the Condestavel of the bombardeiros, generally a German or a Fleming, was responsible for the making of the powder. Among these foreign employees of D. Manuel one of the most noted was his carpinteiro João Luiz, who later became condestavel-mór of India. ; he not only made the guncarriages, but also cast cannons themselves. (2) He improved the grinding-machinery so as to reduce the danger of explosion (3) and also invented "artifícios de fogo" for use in war, as well as a leaden "pasta" for temporary repairs to ships in distress and for covering fortlets. In 1533 he was succeeded as Condestavel mór by the German Fleming William of Bruge (4) who founded the powder-factory at Goa, which was completed in 1547, four years after his death. (5)

(1) Garcia de Rezende, Chron. de João II., cap. 62.

(2) In 1523 he cast in Cochim a serpe of 40 quintaes, 5 esperas, 10 falcões pedreiros and camellos of from 12—13 quintaes. (Corp. Chron. P. I. M 35. D. 70; see also Sousa Viterbo, op. cit.)

(3) "tenho feito um engenho novamente que andam as rodas fora da casa, em que ha de moer uma besta, onde ora não pode peligrar nenhuma cousa . . ."

(4) See his carta given in Chancel. D. João III. Doações, l. 49. fl. 21.—Sous. Vit. op. cit.

(5) See Ruy Gonçalves Caminha in Cartas de Goa a D. João de Castro, No. 34. (4. II. 1547) . . . "as casas de polvora . . . são acabadas . . ."—William was buried in the Franciscan church at Goa and the inscription on his tomb reads as follows: Esta sepultura / he de Guilherme De / Bruges Condestabre / Que foi desta Fortaleza / De Guoa. Faleceo a / sete dias de Novembro / e de seus herdeiros que / faleceo na era de / 1543 anos / (Rivara, Inscrições lapidares da India Portuguesa.)

There was always difficulty about obtaining the necessary materials, and in 1547, owing to the disturbances in Bisnaga, the stock ran very low. (1) The same difficulties were being experienced a hundred years later. (2) The Factory was greatly improved under the Conde de Vidigueira, D. Francisco da Gama, and after its completion by the Conde de Linhares in 1630, Barreto speaks of it as one of the finest buildings in the State, with its three pateos and fountain of water and eight mills. (3) It was in charge of a Provedor and the actual making of the powder was done by slaves and prisoners, (4) algodão or cotton being used for drying it.

The recipe for the powder has been preserved and is as follows:

“For Powder for the Bombarda.

You should take six weights of saltpetre and one of sulphur and another of charcoal, and mix these materials and pound them very well and when the powder, whether for the bombarda or the espingarda, is thus formed in the mortar and grows hot and rises to the edge, you should sprinkle it with vinegar; and the sulphur must be ground by itself and sifted with a wheat sieve, and the saltpetre also must be ground by itself, and in this way you will make a good article, if you have the time for it.”

(1) Ruy Gonçalves de Caminha in *Cartas de Goa* No. 34 and 43. See also Anto. Ferreira (de Ceilão to the Governor in 1545, 5th Oct.), *Coll. de S. Lourenço*, liv. III, fs. 360 and verso, and his complaint of the lack of powder. In 1625 a factory was built in Colombo by Constantino de Sá and regarding this João Ribeiro writes “with the help of the water, which was drawn from the lake, two quintals of powder were made daily”. *The Historic Tragedy of Ceilão*, trans. by P. E. Pieris, 3rd ed. Colombo 1925. p. 38.

(2) See *Doc. Remett. da Índia*, l. 43 f. 175 v.a (Colombo, 20th Dec. 1637.)

(3) Pö. Barreto de Resende Ms. illum. N. 139 and 140 in *Bibl. Nac. de Lisb.*

(4) There was a polvorista and two bombardeiros in 1588. (Falcão, *Livro de toda a fazenda*, Ms. da *Bibl. Nac. of Lisbon*)—*Cartas de Aff. Albuquerque*, Various.

Where the powder was for the espingarda the proportion of the materials was different, being 9 : $1\frac{1}{2}$: $1\frac{1}{2}$, ground fine enough to go through a silken sieve; the vinegar which was sprinkled was replaced by "good and clear water", when the powder was not immediately needed. (1)

THE NEW SOLDIER

The publication of Nicoló Macchiavelli's *Arte della Guerra*, which laid the foundation of war as a science, profoundly affected all military organisation in the Renascent Europe, and its influence by slow degrees penetrated within Portugal. Its immediate effect was greatly to increase the value of the footsoldier as a fighting machine. A battle no longer consisted of a series of contests between armed cavaliers on horseback. Massed bodies of infantry were chiefly relied upon; the pikemen occupied the centre and were supported by arquebussiers on either wing, and these met the enemy in the decisive struggle. Consequently much greater attention was paid to the weapons with which they were armed.

The development in the economic condition of the country also made itself felt in the formation by the various Guilds of bodies of troops from among their own members under the standards of the Patron Saints to whom their chapels were dedicated.

The professional soldier with a fixed soldo soon replaced the fidalgo with his feudal tenants, and in 1508 D. Manoel founded the *gente da ordenança*, (2) recruited mainly from Italians and other foreign mercenaries. They constituted one of the three corps of Guards, the others being called: *da camara* and *dos ginetes e das oitenta lanças*. A Captain-General was appointed to their command and was entrusted with the selection of twenty *escudeiros*, called the twenty

(1) Ms. 105. p. 221—Bibl. Nac. de Lisb.

(2) For these men in India see Correa, *Lendas I*, cap. VIII.

lanças, who rode on horses in full armour with shield and lance. They were not permitted to absent themselves from the capital without special leave. The members of the corps received two cruzados a month as soldo, and this was paid to them by the pagador, after satisfying himself that their arms were kept polished and in proper order. Those who served at Court were allowed the privileges of escudeiros and received every year clothing of stuff worth 300 reaes the covado. (1)

In a few years, however, matters were found so unsatisfactory that D. João III ordered the creation of a new permanent body of "gente armada" (2) which became the nucleus of a standing army. In addition the inhabitants were liable to military service in accordance with their social status and income; thus the nobility, whether fidalgo, cavaleiro or escudeiro had to serve with their arms and horses, but they were given a contia or money-allowance by the King. Commoners with an income of 200,000 reis or above were subject to the same liability. The lower nobility or commoners with 100,000 reis were expected to possess an arca buç each, and every one else a lance, a "half-lance" or a dart.

This arrangement necessitated the valuation of all property, a work which was entrusted to the caudels, who were under a caudel-mór. In consequence of the dissatisfaction caused by their appraisement, skilled

(1) The arms of the escudeiros were: coiraças, capacetes, ba-beiras, espaldas ou gocetes, coxotes, e faldas ou escarcellas, e lanças e adagas.

Those of the gente da ordenança were: um peito com sua espaldeira, armadura da cabeça, cellada e braceiras, alabarda.

Extract of the Regimento da Gente da Ordenança e das vinte lanças da Guarda. publ. by P. d. Azevedo in Arquivo Historico Portuguez I, 81.

(2) Law of 7th August 1549. Under this every noble man had to provide himself with a "cossotele preto, gorjal, escarcelas, braçais, celada, espada", and a lança of 20 palms.—See also Fortunato de Almeida, Historia de Portugal, vol. III.

valuators accompanied them to help them with their advice. Every Pentecost there was a great alardo, when all the arms had to be submitted for inspection and approval by the caudel-mor, who would supply all deficiencies at the party's expense. The liability to this service ceased on attaining seventy years. (1)

Cavalry now sank into a secondary position and the new arm, the Artillery, ranked last of all.

THE BOMBARDEIROS

During the reign of D. João II. (1481—1495) we find for the first time references to a recognised body of bombardeiros, consisting of 35 men, known as bombardeiros da nomina, which implied that on the military paylists they were entered by their individual names. A further body, the bombardeiros do mar, was created when ships first began to be armed with artillery. These two bodies consisted almost exclusively of Germans and Flemings, but Portuguese also appear serving in their ranks, especially within the forts, where a certain number of bombardeiros had always to be maintained. (2) Their captains, known as Condestaveis, were under the Condestavel-mor de todos os Bombardeiros, who controlled the entire corps, and in 1489 they were invested with exclusive judicial authority over their men with power of fine and imprisonment; (3) but this was subsequently transferred to a civil judge, the dezembargador e juiz dos feitos da casa da Mina. (4) By a Carta of D. João III., dated 23rd January 1529, the Corregedor do Cível was empowered to deal with all such matters affecting the

(1) See Ord. Affons. I. I. tit. 71. and Pedro de Azevedo, Documentos das Chancelarias Reais. See also Fortunato de Almeida, op. cit.

(2) See Fitzler, op. cit. for connected documents.

(3) See Livro de Extras, folh. 187 in Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

(4) See Livro 3 de Estremadura, fl. 233 vo.

foreign bombardeiros (1) alone, who constituted the Brotherhood or Irmandade of Sam Bartholomeu. With the disappearance of the German Bombardeiros this privilege was transferred to the commercial Brotherhood who took their place, and remained in force till recent times.

The selection of the bombardeiros was entrusted to the Condestaveis "provided that they be such men as are suitable for our service and that they have excellent knowledge of how to shoot with serpentinas and other small pieces and be of good behaviour and free from all lawlessness and have some knowledge of the duties of mariners." They could not, however, be entered in the Roll till they were examined and approved by the king himself, or in his absence by the Contador-mor of the armazem. (2)

Germans were most in demand and were mainly recruited in their country through the *escrivão* of the great commercial Factory at Anwers. Such recruits usually demanded not less than two hundred florins a year, with conditions regarding holidays and occasional drinking-bouts, (3) while the local men received less. On appointment an Act or *Carta de bombardeiro* in the following form, was issued to them:

"Dom Manuel etc. We make known to all who see this Our carta that it pleases us now to enroll as our bombardeiro da nomina Annes de Olines, German, with a thousand reis as soldo a month which makes twelve millreis for the year, and because he is of the number of our twenty (thirty?) bombardeiros alemãos da nomyna, with all the privileges, allowances and liberties which are given and granted to them by us. Wherefore we command the almoxarife of our Almazem da

(1) Livro 43 da Chanc. de D. João III. fl. 10.—Torre do Tombo.

(2) Livro de Extras fl. 187.—Torre do Tombo.

(3) Braacamp Freire, Feitoria de Flandres, and Corpo Chron. I. 25. 75.

Guine e India, and clerks of the said casa to enter him in the book da nomina of the said casa, that thus it be known how he is thus enrolled; and they must pay him the said soldo at the times and in the fashion and manner that it is paid to the others our bombardeiros alemãos de nomjna, and as he performs his duties, and is deserving thereof; and in all matters they must fulfil and observe this our carta as is provided therein.

The King has commanded this by Jorge de Vasconcelos, fidalgo of his Casa, espr'ão.

Given at Lisboa, this 24th of February.

Alvaro Piz made this in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty.

(Torre do Tombo—Chanc. de D. Man. l. 12. f. 127.)

Various special privileges were granted to these men by cartas dating from 1498, which were subsequently embodied in another of 1515. They could not be compelled to take part in any war except in the service of the King himself or his eldest son the Infante, nor to labour on the roads and bridges and other similar public works. They were relieved from several civil responsibilities, such as the duty of acting as curators, as well as from the payment of various dues like that on wine, and the impost payable on the purchase of arms and beasts of burden and the obligation to perform numerous services of a petty and vexatious nature. The wearing of arms after the evening-bell was regulated by the king's defeza, but they were permitted at all times to retain their usual weapons, namely the espada or sword, with their side-arms, the punhal or adaga. They could not be lashed in public or be degraded with the halter. They were paid on the same scale as the highly favoured besteiros de comto, and, when summoned for service, could demand free entertainment and lodging for man and beast, wherever needed on the road, though themselves

exempt from a similar liability. (1) What was prized as much as anything was the right to ride upon mules. (2) This privilege, originally confined to Prelates and Fidalgos and gradually extended to the monks and bombardeiros, was in 1581 finally thrown open by D. Philip I. to all his subjects. (3)

The German colony at Lisbon was commercial at the start, and a Chapel named after S. Bartholomeu, originally built by one of their wealthy members, was subsequently incorporated by D. Diniz (4) within his new great church of S. Julian, with the condition that the rights of the founder should be preserved for ever. This Chapel was soon the recognised religious centre for all Germans, and with the increase in the number of bombardeiros these latter finally obtained the decisive voice in its management. Funds were mainly obtained by fines inflicted on themselves for breaches of the peace, using profane language, and other similar offences, (5) and the condestavel-mor came to be its acknowledged head. The bombardeiros formed a special Confraria, that of the bombardeiros or artilheiros (6) with S. Barbara as their Patron-Saint, and they were permitted to show her figure on the Altar; the name of the Confraria was later changed to that of S. Bartholomeu himself.

Its legal position was confirmed in 1507 by a carta of D. Manoel, which laid down rules for safe-guarding the finances, by this time very substantial, and the practice to be observed in appointing the responsible officers. All the money was to be locked away in a Chest with four keys, to be held by four officers selected for definite

(1) Livro 5 de Misticos f. 129.—Torre do Tombo.

(2) Viterbo, *Elucidario* under: Mula.

(3) Cortes de Thomar 1581.

(4) See Fitzler, *op. cit.*, where the original documents will appear.

(5) *ibidem*.

(6) Pinha Leal, *Portugal Antigo e Moderno*.

is; books of receipts and expenses were to be ened and carefully checked, with a yearly verification of the balances. (1) Most important of all, it was conceded that the property of bombardeiros dying in Portugal or the Conquistas, excepting Africa, and leaving no family, should be credited to its revenues. (2)

These last along with any unpaid balances of salary had previously been employed to maintain the Hospital which was run in association with the Chapel; this, no doubt, was now supported from the Common Chest, along with the contributions from German merchants and naval duties paid by their ships in proportion to their tonnage, a tax which continued in existence till 1816.

The Hospital was founded in 1495 and was one of the earliest in Portugal. It lasted about one and a half centuries, and supplied the medical needs of the bombardeiros who returned wounded or sick from their distant campaigns, as well as of the entire German community. Within its walls Martin Behaim, who after returning from his expedition with Diogo Cão to the Gold-coast was raised to be a cavalleiro by D. João II. and constructed the great Globe at Nürnberg, died in poverty.

In addition to their military duties, which included the making of guns, espingardas and powder, several of the bombardeiros followed other occupations. For instance Mestre João was a successful clockmaker, (3) and Hermann de Campos rose to be the King's printer; (4) his incunabula which he issued in conjunction with Valentin Fernandes (5) are among the

(1) Fitzler, *op. cit.*

(2) *ibidem.*

(3) See Fitzler, *op. cit.* and Sousa Viterbo, *Artes e Industrias op. cit.*

(4) *ibidem.*

(5) *ibidem.* See also Mendes dos Remedios, *Historia da Literatura Portuguesa*, 1921.

greatest treasures of the kind which date from the early sixteenth century.

As is to be expected, the services of these skilled artillery-men were soon recognised as indispensable in the East. Several of them took part in the early expeditions, as each ship needed a certain number, and they received much favour from Affonso de Albuquerque. It is interesting to note that even on the high seas the festival of the Patron-Saint was observed with much solemnity, just as it was in the forts where the men were stationed on landing, money and provisions being frequently supplied on the king's account. (1)

All Historians (2) of the period speak in terms of admiration about the valour of these men, who were often selected for rewards by their commanders. Most of the *condestaveis* were raised to the dignity of *cavaleiro*. (3) Rüdiger of Geldern, the friend of Erasmus, for his gallant deeds in Africa and at the sieges of Goa, Diu and Cananor, is mentioned with special applause by Damiam de Goes. (4)

Albuquerque, like Alexander the Great before him, formed the idea of establishing a mixed race which would unite the East with the West, and his men were encouraged by gifts of money to marry Indian women, and many *bombardeiros* thus settled down in India. The wealth of the *Confraria* enabled them in 1514 to establish a Chapel of their own in Cochim by the side of the Portuguese church; (5) every year their number residing within the Indian forts increased, and in 1525 it was reckoned at a 100 men, of whom at least a half had to be German. (6) A further privilege was conceded to them

(1) Fitzler, *op. cit.*

(2) See *inter alios*: Damiam de Goes, *Cronica de D. Manuel*. IV, 623.

(3) *Cartas de Albuquerque*, various.

(4) Goes, *Cron. op. cit.* IV. 718.

(5) *Cartas de Aff. Albuquerque V.* and Fitzler, *op. cit.*

(6) *Lembranças da India*, by Simão Botelho.

of bringing on their return to Portugal a quantity of cinnamon and other spices, free of freight and customs duty. (1)

In 1545 a suggestion was made that the remuneration of the bombardeiros and their officers should be reduced, but it was pointed out that this was most undesirable, as it would cause dissatisfaction in a body of men which though numerically small was of such great importance; the sum had originally been fixed at a time when living was much cheaper, and further the bombardeiros did not take their food with others nor at the expense of others as did the rest, who frequently received free meals or mesa from outside. (2)

ORDNANCE

A valuable document (3) of the end of the 16th century contains the following information regarding the guns of the Portuguese:

Artillery is divided into three groups, namely peças de bater, de Campanha and de defeza, according to their difference in length and thickness of metal, and are called canhão, columbrina and pedreiro.

Canhões include entire, half and quarter pieces and are the guns generally used for battering.

Columbrinas include entire, half and quarter columbrinas or sagres, falcão and falconete or half-falcão. Other pieces de Campanha, such as Passo volante (4) and Esmirilhão (5), did not always have the precise length of this class.

(1) In 1588 the Condestavel-mor drew 40\$000 rs a year as pay. (Falcão, Livro de toda a Fazenda.)

(2) Torre de Tombo, Maço das Cartas dos Viceréis, N. 159.

(3) See Appendix I to this Note.

(4) The Passo-volante is notable for its singular length, slimness and general shape, which resembles a bamboo.

(5) The Esmirilhões shown at the Museum of Artillery in Lisbon are espingardas of extraordinary length and cannot be classed as artillery.

Pedreiros include emcamarado, emcampanado, de Camara and murteirete, and are so named as they are loaded with stones (pedras), chains, nails and suchlike; they are also used to fire grenades, bombs and other devices.

A canhão entire (inteiro) should have a length of nineteen times the diameter of its ball; a half-canhão twenty-one and a third times, with the same thickness of metal as the former; a quarter canhão twenty-seven times with the same thickness.

The columbrina entire (inteira) has a length of thirty-six such diameters; the half-piece thirty-eight diameters, the quarter piece forty-one diameters, with an extra tube of reinforced iron strengthened by rings. Morteiretes have a length of two and a quarter diameters.

Canhões receive a charge of powder of two thirds the weight of the ball; Columbrinas four fifths; Pedreiros one third and smaller field-pieces even weight. In loading colheres and cartuxos or cartridges were used along with a rammer (soquete) and a lanada or sponge.

The course of the ball is divided into three sections—
tiro de ponto em branco, which is the distance it travels in a straight line;
tiro de bolada, the portion of the curve covered under the impetus given by the powder; and
tiro morto, the total curve formed under the impetus of the powder and the attraction of gravity.

Point blank is used in battery; bolada at long range to destroy defences and works of little strength; tiro morto for casting bombs and devices of fire within forts.

This group is used for firing at long range in the field and is rarely employed for battering. It is more suitable for maritime forts, owing to the longer range.

It is described as reinforced Artillery and the muzzle-ring must have two diameters of thickness, one of the solid metal and one of the bore, which is the Cannon's Soul (alma da peça); the trunnions should have two diameters and a half and in the rings three.

Peças de defeza are shorter and are loaded with a smaller charge. They derive their name from the fact that they are usually employed at points where defence is the important matter, as at the gates of a fort or the flanks of a bastion. They are loaded with any missile which can cause injury, such as stones, chains, nails etc. The group includes pedreiros encamarados (with a small breach), pedreiros de Camara (touch-pan) or macho and Murteiretes, commonly called Tra-bucos. The encamarados have a length of eight to nine diameters and the alma is narrower near the breach; this is the portion called Camara. The alma of the campanados is shaped like a bell expanding from the touch-hole to the mouth. Pedreiros de macho resemble the encamarados, but the upper part of their camara is open to receive the charge.

At sea the gunner must be a mariner by profession and understand the Compass and the control of the helm. As sea-fighting is always at close quarters only point blank distances need be considered and the gun should be fired as the vessel rises on the water. The main point is to pay attention to the waves, because accuracy of aim depends entirely on that.

Each gunner is furnished with four needles—a garabatilho or packneedle to test the thickness of the cannon at the breach; a straight one for cleaning the touch-hole; a four-sided one to pierce the cartridge; and a verruma to be used when the touchhole is blocked.

He also has a pair of straight compasses for testing the diameter of the guns and curved compasses for testing the thickness of the metal; a rule and lead to find the

level and fix the elevation, and a graduated caliber-rule to ascertain the diameter of the balls.

The following table gives details regarding the weight of balls and ranges in geometric paces:

Gun	Weight of ball (libras)	Range (geom. pace)
Canhão inteira	26 and upwards	250
„ meia	16—25	225
„ terça	10—13	—
„ quarta	3—9	200
Columbrina inteira	15—18	300
„ meia	13—15	250
„ quarta	—	225
Falcam	5—6	180
Falconete	1—4	160
Esmirilhão	6—10 (onças)(1)	—
Pedreiro inteiro	18—40	—
„ meio	13—18	—
„ terço	11—12	—
„ quarto	6—12	—

Another ancient document (2) gives information regarding several archaic types. For instance the greatest of all was the Bazalisco, which reached a weight of 150 quintaes with a length of 35 palms. Smaller basiliscos weighing 70 quintaes were described as Bastardos. The Espalafatto was heavier than these latter, though it was only sixteen palms in length, which was also the length of the salvagem, a piece of 40 quintaes. There were smaller guns like the camello and the camalete which were used with stone balls, as well as

(1) 1 libra = 16 onças.

(2) See Appendix II to this note.

the Leão (lion), Águia (eagle), Serpe (serpent) and Cão (dog), while 50 Lagartixas or Lizzards formed part of the great armament of the Nau S. Catharina do Monte Sinai. (1)

One other species of heavy gun remains, and that is the Mortar or Morteiro, which was used with bombs and grenades. Its name describes its appearance. Information regarding the bombs is contained in Fortes' book which was printed in 1729. The bomb, he says, was like a round pot with two ears. It is first loaded with powder and then fitted with an espoleta or fuse, containing a mixture of powder, benzoin, charcoal and petroleum, which burns slowly and is timed to explode the charge on reaching its destination. The charge of powder in the mortar varies with the elevation required, and over it is spread a layer of dry clay beaten level with a pestle, and on this is placed the bomb, the diameter of which must be such as to permit of two inches of earth lying round it right up to the ears. One gunner with a lunt in either hand sets fire simultaneously to the fuse and the mortar.

Curious devices were sometimes employed as bombs. At the siege of Colombo in 1656, the Hollanders "made another kind of bomb, which were much smaller and were covered over with a large quantity of tow and other combustibles, and made in such proportions that in their lower part, in the midst of the tow, they carried from twenty to twenty-five tubes like little pistols, charged to the mouth with two balls. These were put into the mortars and fired with such careful calculation, that when they

(1) Garcia de Rezende, Hida da Iffanta D. Beatriz.—De Queiroz also speaks of a Camara and Chicorro as guns used in Ceylon. The firearms used in the warfare in Ceylon are vividly described in a Sinhalese poem (circ. 1658), the Parangi Hatane. See the English translation appearing in Pieris, Ribeiro, 1st edition and portion in Pieris' Ceylon, the Portuguese Era, vl. II.

reached the height of a braça or a braça and a half above us, they would discharge their tubes in all directions, the tubes themselves causing as much havoc as the balls, and finally the bomb would explode". (1)

The Portuguese on their part in 1644 used "coconuts filled with powder and well covered with tow, resin and other stuffs, which made them look what they were not; and though the enemy made fun of these bombs, they caused them a deal of anxiety and . . . (they) had always to go about with buckets in their hands to protect them from these fire-balls." (2)

A Bate-muro was a somewhat primitive type of mortar, from which great stoneballs were hurled against city-walls. (3)

THE BESTEIROS

Side by side with the bombardeiros there existed the much more ancient body of besteiros, whose organisation, probably based on that of the Roman balearii, was brought to perfection under D. Ferdinand I., (4) D. João I. (5) and D. Affonso V. They derived their name from the besta, which was their chief weapon, and till D. Manoel's reign they formed a corps, divided into eight classes, namely:

1. de camara, who in 1427 were appointed Archers of the King's Bed-Chamber. (6)
2. de monte, with the privilege of hunting in the mountains; the class was abolished by D. Manoel in 1498. (7)

(1) J. Ribeiro, *The Historic Tragedy of Ceilão*, transl. by P. E. Picris, 3rd ed. Colombo 1925, p. 203.

(2) *Idem* p. 154.

(3) *Museo Militar*, Barcelona 1883.

(4) He prescribed regulations about their privileges in 1397. (Ord. Aff. I, I. tit. 69 § 20.)

(5) He gave in 1410 a general Regimento embodying the duties of the entire corps of besteiros. See Orden. Affons. I.

(6) *Livro vermelho de D. Aff. V. n. 31*, "guardar a camara ou quarto d'El Rei".

(7) *Liv. cit. n. 41*.

3. de polé, named after their special missile, which resembled the old instrument of torture of that name. (1)
4. de cavallo, who were mounted on horses.
5. de garrucha, who employed garrochas for drawing the bow-string and virotes or virotões, made of wood and iron with or without barbs (2) as the missile.
6. de fradilha, probably a local name for the de monte, derived from the fralda, a piece of armour to protect the kidneys.
7. do mar. The men of this division were selected exclusively from the vintenas do mar, which were Companies of twenty, each under its vintaneiro, chosen for special physical qualifications for service at sea. Vacancies were filled up by rotation from the Companies. (3)
8. do conto, probably so called after the conto, a little iron pike which they employed. (4) These formed the most important of the divisions, and numbered 5000 men when at full strength. They survived the suppression of the others at the reform by D. Manoel, and were always regarded as a select and favoured body with special pay and privileges.

The Besta or cross-bow was defined by the Portuguese as "arco de atirrar as settas", a bow for discharging arrows. It came into the country in the 10th century, but its use in warfare was forbidden till in

(1) It had a roldana or "mechanism with a wheel which spun round and about it there passed a string or chain". Viterbo, *Elucidario*.

(2) Doc. de Freixo 1410.—Ord. Affons. I., I. tit. 69 § 15.

(3) Cod. Aff. I. I. f. 68.—See also Note II. Marinharia.

(4) The explanation that the term de conto is a numerical description given by Ribeiro in Viterbo's *Elucidario* (see: *besteiro de conto*, note) cannot be accepted.

1139 the Pope permitted Christians to employ it against the Turks. In the 14th century it was much improved by a steel-spring, stock and trigger, till a force of 500 kilos was needed to stretch it and the missile would travel 320 metres. Later we find at least three classes of them:

1. de garucha,
2. de bodague, used with clay-balls, (1) and
3. de pelouro, or escorpiões.

The settas or arrows were of various shapes and sizes, sometimes poisoned with helibore (varatro negro), which is still known as *herva besteira*.

The officers of the corps, called *Anadeis*, were under an *Anadel mór* with jurisdiction over a military district, the *Anadoria*. (2). They were responsible for recruiting the *besteiros*, of whom those *do conto* had, whenever possible, to be married members of a trade-guild; all those employed in agricultural pursuits, except swine-herds, were disqualified. In exceptional cases unmarried men, not belonging to a guild, would be admitted.

In view of the great importance of agriculture for the well-being of the country, and the impossibility of the *besteiros* taking an active part in such work, they had to keep in their houses tame hawks to destroy rats and similar vermin; but after the introduction of *espingardas* and carbines, this was converted into an obligation to produce before the local *Camara* a fixed number of heads of sparrows and rats. (3) The pay (4) of a *besteiro* varied according to the distance of the place of service, and on reaching the age of 60 years he was entitled to demand his discharge.

(1) These under the same name are still used in the forests of the Amazonas by Indian tribes.

(2) Doc. da Camara do Porto, 1497; Viterbo, *Elucidario*.

(3) Orden. Alf. II. 1. tit. 19.

(5) 3 reaes within three leagues of Lisbon, and 12 reaes beyond (1439).

One of the duties of the anadel was every Sunday to take his men outside the city within a stockade named *barreira* and put them through their evolutions. (1)

On the death of a private the Anadel-mór claimed his *besta* from the heirs and a sum of money as well. This latter demand was an abuse which was strongly resented, till an order was passed recognising the officer's claim to the *besta* and the right of the heirs to ransom it for a small sum. (2)

CASADOS AND SOLTEIROS

All Portuguese proceeding to the East were either *casados* or *solteiros*—i. e. married or unmarried. The latter were also known as *soldados*, whether they actually served as soldiers or not. (3) The terrible hardships of the voyage naturally reduced the number of women who accompanied their husbands to a very low figure, and consequently the *casado* was always treated with much respect and consideration. (4) In course of time a certain number of them became permanent residents at the various settlements and were regarded as a privileged class there, exempt from military service save under exceptional circumstances. (5) It was they who elected the 4 *Mesteres* who sat on the *Camara* which looked after the municipal affairs of the *cidade*.

(1) Regim. do Anadel dos Besteiros 1497.—Doc. da Camara do Porto.

(2) At the funeral of a Sinhalese of position the officer in charge of the band of men who furnish an escort is entitled to retain the deceased's sword, which lay on his coffin and which has to be ransomed by the heirs.

(3) For particulars see Linschoten I, 188.

(4) See References in Pieris, Portuguese Era II, 43 and Index under: *casado*. See also Arch. Port. Orient. III. 777.

(5) In a document of 1545 the Sinhaes Prince D. João demanded from the King of Portugal the right "to have on my guard a hundred Portuguese, *casados*, and also other Portuguese". (Gaveta 20. Maç. 7. N. 28—Torre do Tombo.)

Although at first women were not only not encouraged to go the East, but the men were forbidden to take their wives with them, a change naturally followed the adoption of Albuquerque's imperial policy. Intermarriage with Indians was not regarded as sufficiently answering the needs of the situation, and finally the custom grew of sending every year a number of orphan girls (1) from the Reyno, provided with dowries from the King, to become the wives of those who were willing permanently to remain in the East.

A report of 1545 is an interesting record of the policy which was then recommended, while vividly illustrating the evils of the existing practice: "widowhood is worse for a woman whose husband is going to India, than if he were dead to her; therefore care ought to be taken that the men who are going to India should be as many as possible *solteiros*, and that the *casados* should be able to go with their wives; you ought to give them help and substantial assistance to enable them to take them; in this manner they will not be ruined, and the country there will be filled with people, and their children will be legitimate and respected, and the ruin of so many women will, as I say, be avoided . . . and further for the Armadas, *solteiros* are much more desirable, for they, when on board, will not be always thinking of their wives and children . . ." (2)

Solteiros were always liable to be called upon to serve in the King's wars, (3) and this was a service which they often evaded by entering the service of Indian Princes, among whom they were in great demand. (4)

(1) *Cartas de Aff. Albuquerque*, Various.

(2) *Torre do Tombo*.—*Maço das Cartas dos Visoreys* No. 159.

(3) See *Coll. de S. Lourenço III*, 351, 356, 360.—*Corp. Chron. P. II. M.* 242. doc. 44.

(4) See *Ribeiro III.* ch 3.

PAY AND ALLOWANCES

The food-allowance for a soldier in India in 1525 was an arratel each of meat and biscuit and two medidas of rice a day, with a monthly supply of a canada of manteyga or clarified butter, an arratel of sugar and a quartilho each of vinegar and azeite from Portugal, with sixteen dried litões. (1) A soldier starting for the East in 1505 undertook to serve for three years; during the voyage he received 800 rs a month besides his food, but after landing the latter was replaced by an additional 400 rs. Every year he could send home pepper worth 5,000 rs, (2) and at a later date some Cinnamon as well.

The remuneration of the officers themselves fell under three heads: namely, a fixed annual sum under the name soldo or ordenado, and certain allowances, called proes and percalços, which dated from very early times and details of which are obscure.

They did not usually receive the mantimento or food-allowance which was given to the ordinary soldiers, and were placed in charge of their office by the Provedor of the armazens and armadas, after first taking their oath at the Chancellaria well and truly to fullfil their duties. (3)

(1) *Lembranças da Índia* f. 214.—

An arratel was 459 grammes.

A canada was an old liquid-measure equal to 1.4 litres, and was divided into four quartilhos.

The litão is the German Quermaul and belongs to the shark family.

For the soldier's food-allowance in Ceylon in the next century see Ribeiro, *op. cit.* I. cap. 13. ; *Foral de Jafanapatam*, Ms. of the Bibl. Nacional de Lisbon, and Pieris, *Kingdom of Jafanapatam*, Colombo, 1920.

(2) Barros, Dec. I, liv. VIII, cap. III.

(3) *Chancelaria de D. João III*, l. 68, fl. 315.—*Chanc. D. Philippe I. Doações*, l. 24, fl. 22.—*Chanc. de D. Henrique, Doações*, l. 11, fl. 198 v.^o

THE ARMS' FACTORIES

The chief officina or factory for soldiers' arms was established by D. Manoel at Barcarena (1) and placed under the supervision of Mestres from Biscaya. (2) Not less important was that of Santarem. Smaller factories had been opened in other town-ships as early as 1483, and their workmen were paid from local funds, while the King undertook to purchase a proportion of their outturn. (3) These armeiros received privileges from the King on condition of maintaining their forges and serving in the Royal Ferraria when called upon. (4) At Lisbon itself, opposite the new palace of the Ribeira, there stood the second largest Ferraria, but this had later to be removed outside the Porta da Oura "por fazer muito nojo". (5)

D. Manoel, following his father's example, ordered all the chief towns in his kingdom to maintain a staff of cuirass-makers and armourers. (6)

The local supply, however, had to be supplemented from abroad, and the king's agents were sent to buy capacetes or helmets from Bilbao (7), greaves from Biscaya, (8) arquebusses and espingardas from Bohemia, and suits of armour from Flanders. (9)

Other similar factories and stores were formed in Goa,

(1) Goes, Cron. de D. Manoel, III, cap. 85.

(2) Sousa Viterbo, Armaria.

(3) "que em certas terras haja dous armeiros; hum de brancas; hum coiraceiro e hum Alimpador." The King agreed to buy "100 corpos de coiraça, e 50 capacetes com suas babeiras, cujos jibanetes se obrigão a apromptar".

(4) e. g. see Carta de Merce to Gonçalo Affonso 1553 in Chanc. D. João III, Privilegios liv. 3.^o fl. 170 v.^o

(5) In 1509. Goes, op. cit. IV, 85.

(6) The towns are named in Goes, Chr. de D. Manoel, IV, cap. 86.

(7) 1000 capacetes in 1509—Corp. Chron. P. I. M. 7 D. 105.

(8) 200 in 1514 with 800 capacetes.—Item P. I. M. 15. D. 13.

(9) 3000 arquebusses and 3000 suits in 1519.—Luiz de Sousa, Anaes de D. João III. p. 423.—See also S. Viterbo, op. cit.

Cochim, (1) Chaul and Diu to meet the never—ending demand created by the Eastern struggles. Albuquerque had found reason for bitter complaint in the quality of the weapons sent out from the Reino. "The pikes", he wrote in 1514, "are fit for nothing . . . they are of beech-wood and splinter . . . the breast-pieces of the armour are rotten and old—the cuirasses are of bad silk and cost 20 cruzados . . . the adargas five and the swords from the Medina Market, 1200 reaes . . ." (2)

In Goa the Portuguese had found an excellent Ferraria already existing. Correa (3) relates how Albuquerque "went to the Ribeira, in which there were 16 náos made after our fashion . . . and 8 others being built, and 18 very fine large fustas, and within the city great buildings which the Rumes used as almazem where they had a vast stock of every thing needed for building ships, and much artillery of iron, de camara, great and small, among which were two camelos, eight berços and camaras of ours which the Rumes took at D. Lourenço's defeat before Chaul; and other pieces of metal of their style and many espingardões of metal and a vast quantity of powder, saltpetre and engines for making it and a great almazem of arms of all kinds."

The high quality of Indian steel is well-known, but it is surprising to find Albuquerque asserting that the espingardas made by the local workmen at that factory were equal in quality to those of Bohemia and superior to what came from Germany. Not only so, but he sent one of the men from there to work for his king at Lisbon. (4)

In Ceylon also the making and use of artillery had before 1550 reached a remarkable standard. Antonio Moniz Barreto in 1547, speaking of the army in the

(1) Sousa Viterbo, op. cit.

(2) Cartas de Albuquerque I, 295.

(3) Correa. Lendas, II, 60.

(4) Cartas de Albuquerque, I, 174 and 203.

Kandian country said that there were among them "2000 espingardeiros with very good espingardas which Portuguese had taught them to make" (1). Four years later the Vice-roy D. Affonso de Noronha found that the Sinhalese Prince Madunne "had numerous espingardeiros ... and the roads so strongly held ... with estancias of artillery that the soldiers of Italy could not construct them better" (2).

ARMAS BRANCAS E DE ARREMESSO

Weapons other than fire-arms, bows and such-like,—*armas de arremesso*,—were classed as *armas brancas* (3), including therein all kinds of pikes and swords. The former varied from the short *azagaia* of African origin to the great *sarisa*, which was more than 6 metres in length; there were *albardas* and *partisanas*, double-edged and of different sizes; and the *lanças* used by cavalry.

Among the swords was the heavy two-handed *montante*, the *espada de antenas*, and the *colubrina* with its sinuous edge. The shorter stabbing weapons included the *punhal*, the *adaga*, daggers, and the *navalha*, a short, broad and heavy knife. The *facha* or *machado* was a battle-axe; the *clava*, a heavy wooden bludgeon; and the *maça* was generally studded with nails.

Portable fire-arms are mentioned as early as 1365 under the name of *canhão de mão* or *bombarda pequena*, and were tubes of iron fixed to wooden stocks "with a moveable *camara* for charging in the breech (*culatra*)", where was the touch-hole. They were used

(1) S. Lourenço L. III fl. 387—391.—Torre do Tombo, Lisb.

(2) Corp. Chron. P. I. M. 87. Doc. 73.—*ibidem*.

(3) In 1553 João Affonso received certain privileges on condition of maintaining a "shop for furbishing and polishing *armas brancas*" (Sousa Viterbo, *Artistas e artificios de Guimarães*.)

not only by the infantry but also by horse-men, whose guns were lighter and for firing were supported by a prop fixed to the saddle. The match was applied with the left hand. These guns were soon followed by the *columbrina de mão*, at first cast in bronze and later made of beaten iron, and distinguished by its great length. Two men, the *apontador* or marksman and the *bota-fogo*, fireman, were attached to each, and the gun was worked slung from a hook. (1) Its action was much improved in 1423 by a Spaniard who invented a small device for applying the lighted match mechanically by the movement of a curved *serpe* or cock, from which the gun was afterwards named the *serpentina*. This type, however, as not generally adopted in Portugal till 1510. (2)

Before that date further improvements had made it possible for one man to fire the gun from the shoulder and this resulted in the appearance of the *espingarda*, (3) which figures so often in the Portuguese history of the East during the 16th century. In loading, the powder and a roughly cast leaden bullet were filled into the *camara* along with a wooden stopper, the whole fitted into the breech and kept in place by wedges. The *escopeta* was a variation of the *espingarda*.

The *Arcabuz* was an improved and much shorter *columbrina a mão*, the value of which for horsemen was greatly increased by the invention at Nürnberg, in 1517, of the flint-lock. But the most usual fire-arms employed by cavalry were the small *espingarda*, called *clavina*, and the *bacamarte* or blunderbuss, as well as pistols, named after their place of first manufacture, Pistoia, near Florence. (4)

(1) Almirante, *Diccionario militar*.

(2) Mardel, *Historia da arma de fogo portatil*.

(3) *Aff.º de Palencia*, *Decadas*, cap. 6, tit. 9 speaks, in 1467, of *espingardas* as "*recientemente descubierta*". (Almirante, *op. cit.*)

(4) Mardel, *op. cit.*

ARMOUR

The complete accoutrement for a soldier was termed *collosette* (1) and his armour alone *arnês*—the English “harness”.

The defensive armour for the head was an *elmo* or an *almagre* (2) for the horsemen, and a *capacete*, *celada*, *morrião* (3), *casco* or *bacinete* for the footmen, all of steel or iron. The *bacinetes* could be *singelos*, simple, or *de camal* (4), which latter covered the face as far as the beard.

For the body there were *côtas de malha*, (5) made of plates or scales of steel, reaching from the shoulders to the hips, while the neck was covered by a *gargilim* (6), or *gargantes*, and the breast with the *corsolete*. A simpler and lighter form of the latter chiefly used in the tropics, was the *loriga* (7) of undressed leather or *lôro*, which was later strengthened with steel rings, and the *laudel* or jacket stuffed with cloth. (8) Defensive armour of silk was well-known in India, and the silk *piastrões* or cuirasses which were sent from Europe in 1514, have already been mentioned. (9) On the back was worn the *faldas* or *faldras* protecting the kidneys and continued by the *escarcelas* and the *espaldares* as far as the *coixotes*.

(1) Goes, *Urbis Ulyssiponensis descriptio*, Evorae.

(2) D. Pedro I. allowed his vassalos 65 libras each to buy a good horse and his *loriga* with its *almagre*. (*Chron. de D. Pedro I.*)

(3) Goes, *Urbis Ulyssiponensis descriptio*, Evorae.

(4) Otherwise *camalho* or *babeira*. See *Doc. de Pendorada de 1359*, cit. por Viterbo, *Elucidario*.

(5) Other forms of this were called *canbases* (*Codex Affons. I. tit. 30 § 2*), *sôlhas*, *corpos*, *saías de malha*, *gibão* and *gibanete* (*Cr. D. João II. 1483*).

(6) *Doc. de Freixo—D. João I. 1410. v. Viterbo, Elucidario*.

(7) Also called *coiraca* from *coiro*= leather. *Chron. de D. Pedro I.—Doc. de Viseu 1189, doc. 1239*.

(8) *Cod. Aff. I. titulo 71, cap. 1*.

(9) *Cartas de Albuquerque, I, 295*.

The arms were covered with braçaes and the legs with coixotes above the knees, which were under the joalheiras, with greoas and Caneleiras below, while on the feet iron çapatos were worn. In addition the fighting-man carried in his left hand, which was protected by steel guantes (1) a round escudo or buckler (2) of steel or an adarga of leather. Of the latter there were two kinds, one small and round, and the other which was copied from the Arabs, large and kite-shaped. The oldest type of all was the broquel; and a special shield, the escudo de Pontevedra, distinguished the rodeleiros, who were among the best fighters of the 16th century, though their offensive arms were only the sword and dagger. (3)

When on the field the espingardeiro or gunner wore on his head a helmet called borguinhota and armour consisting of breast-plate, shoulder- and arm-pieces, with tight trousers and leather shoes; he carried a sword in addition to his gun. The escopeteiro was similarly provided. The piqueiro, pikeman, had lighter mail with a helmet (casco) covering the back of the neck and a short sword. The besteiro wore a tunic and trousers, a bonnet on his head, buskins on his feet, and carried his bow, a quiver full of darts, and his gafa for winding up the besta. (4)

THE ARMOUR SMITHS

The armeiro it was who made all arms and armour, while the ferreiro confined himself to the metalwork

(1) These had finger-joints. The Manopla was a similar protection without joints.

(2) Doc. de Pendorada de 1359.—Other round shields or rodelas and large shields or pavese were also in use. (Oliveyra, Guerra do mar. cap. 10.) the latter chiefly to shelter the besteiros; the former were at one time carried by arcabuzeiros.

(3) Museo Militar, Barcelona 1883.

(4) Museu Militar, op. cit.

alone, and the coiraçeiro to the leather, which was prepared for the King's service at the Palame or tannery at the Ribeira. (1) Each class of military weapon had its own group of skilled workmen; the espingardeiro would make the barrel for which the coronheiro prepared the stock; the espadeiro made the swordblade and the barnheiro the scabbard; the correeiro was responsible for the harness of the gennets, while the freeiro supplied the bit and other metalfittings.

The gorgeous decoration of arms with silver and gold was the work of the goldsmiths, the swords being the special care of the ourives espadeiros. Details of the personal arms of D. Manoel, which have been preserved, give us much information regarding this subject. One espada or sword of his was of gold with a straight cross, the guard ornamented with a design of apples, while the hilt and scabbard were enamelled white. Another, also of gold, had its hilt in a design of pinecones and apples, while the belt of black cloth had its guarniture of gold enamelled white, with seven frogs. A girdle of Biscaya had an enamelled gold buckle with a lining of crimson satin, and was embroidered with cruzado-gold. (2)

The harness of the genets or riding-horses was adorned in the same fashion by the ourives dos arreios. (3)

THE ALMAZENS

The arms made at the king's factories were collected at the stores known as the Tercena da Porta da Cruz and the Cata que Farás. A Tercena, it should be remarked, was originally purely a naval arsenal, where

(1) Afterwards called "Casas da Tanaria".—See Doc. de Lamego de 1316; Viterbo, Elucidario.

(2) Arch. Hist. Port; Inventario da Guarda-roupa de D. Manuel. (Arq. Hist. Port. II.)

(3) See Sousa Viterbo, Artes e Industrias.

every thing required for the navy, from a nail to a ship, was kept; but the distinction now disappeared, and it was used for the same purpose as an *armazem*, which was once confined to stores of food and weapons. (1)

D. Manoel further built his great *almazem* near his palace of the *Ribeira*, and of this a glowing account has been preserved. It was most abundantly furnished "with all the arms, machines and instruments and all articles used for war by land and sea, and so provided that in its vast stores of machines, in the endless stock of arms, in the piles of lances, it surpasses the most renowned ones of Europe and Asia" . . . "Here are stocked, well-burnished and looked after, 40,000 sets of arms for footmen, and 3000 coats of mail: and this apart from what is in every day use." (2) A great quantity of artillery and munitions was also stored here.

All the *almazens* were in charge of the *Vedor-mór*

(1) Fernão d'Oliveira, *Guerra do mar*, cap. VII. . . nas taracenas haviã nauios feytos e prestes que em breue possam acodir . . . hauera nas tarracenas madeyra e todos achegos como sam pregadura, breu, estopa e quaesquer outros segundo costume dos navios e terras como seuo, betume e chumbo. O seuo pera nauios de remo e o betume nas terras quentes contra o gusano e chumbo pera as nauegações longas emparar a estopa que senam descarafete a agoa . . . cobre pera pregadura . . . algodam onde não ha estopa . . . cera por breu ja se vsou . . . para cordasa melhor materia he linho alcanauẽ . . . esparto . . . palma . . . velas, ancoras, remos, lemes, mastos.

cap. 10. Dos armazẽs e seu prouimento (the details are omitted): armas . . . victualhas . . . armas da guerra do mor: assy de corda como de fogo . . . tiros e munições d'artelharia . . . bestas . . . lanças . . . couraças . . . adargas . . . cavalgar de gineta e escaramuçar . . . dardos e varas darremessos . . . bombas de fogo e romãs e outros artificios de fogo . . . poluora . . . enxofre, salitre, carvam, cal virgem, alguns oleos . . . arcabuzes de coronhas . . . armas defensivas: couraças, arneis, malha, capacetes e rodellas ou paueses . . .

(2) Damião de Gões, *Urbis Ulyssiponensis descriptio*, Eborac 1544. See also Venturino's description in 1571, who speaks of 50 000 colosettes, 1 sala of lances, one of morriões and arcabuzes and 30 000 suits of armour for horse-men.

Leitão de Andrade (*Misc. Dial. VIII*) says it was locked with "a thousand fechaduras".

da Artillaria. It was his duty to get together all war-material which he was satisfied belonged to the king, whether they bore the Royal stamp or not, and entrust them to the almoxarifes of the Armazens on proper receipts. Whenever Artillery had to be moved, the officials of the towns were obliged to supply the transport whether mules, oxen or carts, as well as the necessary workmen, and for this they could claim payment.

All persons going in charge of such materials had to carry a written authority. Certain employees, namely bombardeiros, black-smiths, carpenters and stone-masons, could not demand money-allowances or quarters from any other vedor, but the vedor-mór de artilharia, so as to provide a check on their conduct. This last had to see that the king's castles were properly furnished from the armazens, and to prevent unnecessary expenditure under this head. (1)

The Provedor of the armazem received the same pay of 50,000 reaes as the treasurer, who further was allowed three personal attendants; but the Alcaide do Mar da Ribeira, who controlled the entire staff, was paid more, though the highest salaries were drawn by the Patrão-mór da Ribeira e Armazem (2) and the Almoxarife da Ribeira das naos e armaria. (3) There were Almoxarifes or superintendents of the almazens of provisions, of the powder, and of the armazem e terçenas do Reyno, as well as a Mestre in charge of the repairs of the Armazem. The Master-Carpenter who designed the ships was paid more than the Almoxarifes, and five times as much as the chief pilot of the harbour, who received 6,000 rs. There were also five escritvães, an apontador or foreman of works, 1 mestre over the caulkers, and

(1) See the original document given as Appendix III to this Note.

(2) Falcão, Livro de toda a Fazenda.

(3) ibidem.

another in charge of the powder used for the espingardas, and two brass-founders who cast the artillery.

There were smaller armazens in the chief Indian forts, and the one at Goa was taken over from the Rumes, when that place was first captured. In these were collected all material needed for military operations on land and sea alike, (1) but it was soon found that in the damp climate of India the soldiers' weapons should be kept separately. Not only were they allowed to rot and rust, but they were even sold by stealth for petty sums, so that, it was said, half the men on the Governor's own escort carried no arms. A report of 1545 embodies this recommendation: "the remedy which can be adopted is to establish at Goa an Almazem with an official who can have, attached to him, a dozen slaves or as many as are required always to keep the weapons polished, and from here, when the men have to go under arms, they may be able to obtain them . . . and this will be a power and a distinction to the country, to have there an armazem of good, bright and well-made arms." (2)

(1) See Botelho, *Lembranças da India*, fol. 19 v.^o for the stores needed for the Indian Arsenals in 1525.

(2) *Maço das cartas de Visoreis* Nr. 159.—Torre do Tombo.

APPENDIX I

Extract from Ms. 724. Bibl. do Convento de Jezus, Academia das Sciencias de Lisboa.

“Hoje se deuide a Arte.a em tres modos a saber Peça debater, Peça de Campanha e Peça de defemça fazendose tres generos de Art.a q se differença entre si per rezão de seus cumprimos e grosuras de seus metaes.”

Os tres gen.os são canhão, Colonbrina, e Pedreiro, de baixo do gen.^o de canhão se comprehende canhão inteiro, meyo canhão e quarto de canhão q̄ são as Pessas de ordinario uzados p.a bater; de Baixo do genero de Colombrina se comprehende Colombrina inteira, meya colombrina, quarto de columbrina sagre falcão ou falconete q̄ he meyo falcão. e todas as mais Peças de campanha as quaes não gardão precisam.te os comprim.os do genero da colubrina como são o Passo volante e Esmirilhão e outras diuerços; de Baixo do genero de Pedreiro se entende Pedreiro em camarado. Pedreiro em campnado Pedreiro de Camara e murteirete são asi nomeados Pedreiros porq̄ se carregão com pedras, cadeas pregos e couzas semelhantes p.a ofender servem tambem p.a disparar com granadas Bombas e outros artefícios.

O canhão inteiro deue ter de comprido dezanoue diametros de Balla com q̄ lhe toca tirar o qual comprim. to repartindoçe na forma seg.te se deue considerar q̄ todo o genero de Peça ha de ter tres reforços do principio da faixa athe o fogão tera hum diametro da sua Balla; do principio da faixa athe o principio do segundo reforço e fim do primeiro tera sinco diametros. do principio da faixa athe o principio do terc.o reforço e fim do segundo tera noue diametros e hum terço. Do principio da faixa athe o colete da joa e fim de terço reforço tera dezasete diametros e dous terços do colete athe ayoja meyo deametro a joya tera sinco sextos de hum deametro, e assim ficara repartido o dito canhão em dezanoue deametros de comprido; O principio dos munhões hão de estar a sete diametros e hum terço de sua bala medidos desde o principio da faixa e terão de diametro sinco sextos dos diametro da Balla; devem ser postos da banda de baixo da metade da peça. As azas on delfins q̄ se fazem segundo a vontade dos fundidores devem ter principio na pr.a linha q̄ da principio aos Munhoens e terão hum diametro de vazio, a largura da faixa donde se principiarão todas as medidas sera de meyo diametro as cornijas são as q̄ servem de adorno aos reforços terão dous sextos de argura do diametro da balla.

O canhão na faixa tera de grosso tres diametros e hum quarto de sua balla junto do fogão principio do prim.ro reforço tera de groço dous diametros e sinco sextos. junto ao fim do prim.ro reforço tera dous diametros e quatro sextos, no segundo reforço tera dous diametros e tres sextos, por fim do seg.do tera tres diametros e dous sextos por principio do terç.ro tera dous diametros e hum sexto, por fim do ultimo q̄ he junto a joia tera dous diametros. A joia tera de groço dous diametros e hum terço.

O meyo canhão ha de ter de comprimento vinte e hum diametros e hum terço da balla q̄ ouver de tirar repartidos na man.a seg.te do principio da fxa athe o fogão hum diametro do principio da faixa athé o fim do pr.^o reforço sinco diametros da faixa athe o principio do terc.ro reforço des diametros, do principio da faixa athe o coleta vinte diametros do Colet' a joya meyo diametro, do principio da joya athe o fim sinco sextos a nesta maneira estão repartidos os vinte e hum diametros e hum terço. As grosuras serão as mesmas q no canhão. os Munhoens se hão de por a outo diametros e hum terço do principio da faixa e terão de diametro sinco sextos . As azas ou delfins como no canhão.

O quarto decanhão tera de comprim.to o vinte e sete diametros da bala q̄ tirar repartidos no modo seg.te. Do principio da faixa athe o fogão hum diametro; da faixa athé o segundo reforço sete diametros da faixa athe o terç.ro reforço treze diametros e meyo da faixa athe o colete vinte e cinco diametros e dous tersos do colete a loya meyo diametro do principio da loa athe o fim sinco sextos. os Munhoens se devem por a onze diametros medidos do principio da feixa terão de diametro sinco sextos como no canhão e meyo canhão e assi mesmo nas grosuras q̄ atras se refere no genero do canhão.

Este genero de Peças foi posto em uzo pa atirar ao longo na campanha e raras vezes se uza dellas pa as Baterias. são mais propias nas praças maritimas por razão de chegarem suas ballas a mayor distancia de baixo deste genero como tenho dito se comprehendem todas as Peças de campanha ainda q̄ não tenham a repartição de seus metais conforme os do genero da columbrina.

A columbrina inteira tera de comprimto trinte e seis diametros da balla q̄ houver de tirar repartidos na forma seguinte: Do principio athe o fogão hum diametro e meyo do principio athe o segdo reforço outo diametros e quatro sextos, da faixa athe o terc.ro reforço dezasete diametros da faixa athe o colete trinta e quatro diametros e quatro sextos, do colete a joya meyo diametro do principio da loya athe o fim della sinco sextos os Munhoens serão postos a quinze diametros terão hum diametro de grosso, serão postos as azas ou delfins como nas

outras peças. A colombrina tera de groço medida pla faxes quatro diametros e medida plo fogão tres diametros e meyo tera no fim do pr.^o reforço tres diametros e hum quarto, por principio do seg.do tres diametros por fim do seg.do dous diametros e tres quartos por principio do terc.ro tres diametros e meyo. por fim do terc.ro dous diametros; pla joya dous diametros e tres quartos.

A meya columbrina tera de cumprimto trinta e oito diametros na man.a seg. te.

Do principio da faixa athe o fogão hum diametro e meyo, do principio da faixa athe o seg.do reforço nove diametros da faixa athe o terc.ro reforço dezouto diametros da faixa athe o colete trinta e quatro diametros e hum sexto do colete a loya meyo diametro da loya athe o fim delle sinco sextos os Munhoens serão postos a dezaseis diametros tera de grosso o diametro da sua balla.

O quarto de columbrina ou sagre tera de comprimento quarenta e hum diametro da balla q̄ houver de atirar na forma seg.te da faixa athe o fogão diametro e meyo da faxes athe o seg.do reforço des diametros; da faixa athe o terc.ro reforço quarenta e hum diametro e quatro sextos, do colete a joya meyo diametro do principio da joya athe o fim sinco sextos deue ter as mesmas groçuras em seus reforçosq̄ a columbrina os Munhoens serão postos a dezoito diametros e terão hum diametro de grosso. As azas ou delfins serão postos como nas outras. Toda esta artelharia em q̄ acima se falla se chamara Artellaria reforçada q̄ geralmente se segue a regra de ter na joya dous diametros de grosura hum de maciço outro de vão q̄ he a alma da Peça nos munhoens dous diametros e meyo e na faxes tres e as q̄ tiverem menos disto serão faltas de metal por não se guardar precisa regra no fundir as Peças mais pequenas obrandoçe com mais ou menos riqueza de metal em seus reforços não trataremos dellos e passaremos as Peças de defeza.

Peças de defeza são canhoes mais curtos q̄ se carregão com menos Polvora q̄ os outros chamace Peça de defeza porq̄ costumão pollas nos lugares della como nas portas de huma fortaleza e nos flancos dos Baluartes por serem as partes q̄ mais a des guardinão carregance com todo o genero de couza q̄ pode fazer ofenssa como pedras cadeas pregas etc. este genero tem diferentes as peças como são pedreiros emcamarados Pedreiros de camara ou macho e Murteiretes q̄ vulgarmte se chamão Trabucos. Os Pedreiros emcamarados tem de compr.to oito athe noue diametros de sua balla desde o fogão athe a joya e tem a alma junto a culatra mais estreita a qual parte se chama Camara q̄ sera de tres diametros de comprido e o diametro da dita camara sera de a metade ou dous terços da toda boca tem no fogão o prim.ro reforço hum diametro de sua balla e sinco sextos. No segundo reforço tera hum diametro e quatro sextos e de comprido dous deametros e dous sextos os Munhoens terão hum diametro da

camera serão postos a tres diametros e dous sextos os delfins ou azas se porão com os mais.

Os pedreiros emcampanados tem a alma ao modo da campana alargandoce desde o fogão athé a boca.

Os pedreiros de macho de camara são semelhantes aos pedreiros emcamarados so tem a parte superior da camara aberta pella qual se mete dentro da d.ta peça huma camera de ferro reforçada e argolada com argollas de ferro q̄ se assegura com unhas do mesmo.—

Morteirete ou trabuco terade comprim.to dous diametros e hum quarto de sua boca tera de groço na culatra hum diametro e meyo sera a camara de ametade do diametro do da boca e o comprim.to de tres quartos.

Dizem agora com q̄ poluora se carregão esses tres generos de Art.a e da mesma man.a como se devem cortar as colheres, fuguetes Lanadas e cartuxos ?

O genero de canhão e especies delle se carregão plos dous terços do pezo de sua balla. O genero de colombrina plos quatro quintos de sua balla. O genero de pedreiro plo terço do pezo de sua balla. As pessas de campanha menores se carregão com mesmo pezo de Poluora q̄ o de sua balla com forme este respeito se cortarão as culheres p.a carregar por duas uezes as peças. A saber do genero do canhão se cortara por dous diametros e dous terços de comprido. A colher do genero de columbrina se cortara por tres diametros e hum quinto de comprido. A culher do genero de Pedreiro se cortara por hum diametro e hum terso de comprido A culher das peças q̄ se carregarem com o mesmo pezo de polvora q̄ tiver a balla se cortara por quatro diametros de comprido para a largura de todas estas culheres tomençe tres diametros os quaes se repartirão em sinco partes iguais as tres pa a culher e as duas pa as orelhas della a qual se deue dar mais meyo diametro de cumprido p.a o q. em caixa no soquete em q̄ fica pregada com as orelhas a roda delle e a extremidade da culher se corta em meyo circulo osoquete com q se alalca a poluora tera hum d'iametro de Balla de grosso e hum terço de comprido. As lanadas devem ter dous diametros de comprido e deuem ter feitas de modo q̄ atochem dentro na peça e tenham justam.te o vão della estas são medidas q̄ hão de ter as culheres, soquetes e lanadas as quais terão huas astias do compr.to e terça da peça q̄ se manejarem com falelidade. os cartuxos se cortarão plo mesmo compr. to q̄ as culheres só se diferencão q̄ hão de ser cortados pello diametro da boca e não da Balla e terão de largo tres diametros da mesma boca. No mar não se carrega por culheres por q̄ o fazem com cartuxos e os soquetes e lanadas serão de cabo é não de hastia mormente no tempo de peleja p.a se carregar de dentro.

Todos os tiros se reduzem a tres. Tiro de ponto em branco. Tiro de bolada e Tiro morto. O tiro de ponto em branco se entende plo espaço q̄ mede a balla em linha reta; sem algguma declinação

não sendo como alguns quere[m] som te o ponto denivel; mas o ponto de ponto em branco se pode considerar absolut.a m te por toda a parte donde puder chegar a balla sem declinação.

O Tiro de bolada he aquelle \bar{q} se fas com declinação da balla a qual tem ainda da força da poluora p a hir diante mas comtudo declina da linha reta a circular.

O Tiro morto he o \bar{q} comprehende os dous acima referidos e demais a sayda da balla de pois de se lhe ter acabado toda a força \bar{q} a poluora lhe imprimio cahindo do seu mouimento natural.

O tiro do ponto em branco serue p.a as baterias não se podendo fazer alguã fora della. O Tiro de bolada serue p.^a tirar ao longe a alguas tropas derrubar defensas e couzas de pouca resistencia. O Tiro morto serue p.^a botar Bombas e fogos artificiais dentro nas praças,

Pella experiencia feita se acha \bar{q} hũ canhão int. o posto de niuel tira de ponto em branco duz.to e sincoenta passos geomtricos	250
o meyo canhão duzentos e uinte e sinco	225
o quarto canhão duzentos	200
a columbrina trezentos	300
Meya columbrina duz.tos e sincoenta	250
o quarto de columbrina duz.tos e uinte e sinco	225
o sagre duz.tos e vinte e sinco	225
o falcão sento e oitenta	180
o falconete sento e secenta	160

Dizeime agora como vos haveis nos tiros do Mar.

O Art. o no mar deve ser Marinhr. o de profissão e saber os Rumes da Agulha e o governo do leme por \bar{q} nelle conciste fazerce apontaria mandando bater a bombardos ou ahstibordo ou alauia conforme lhe demorar apontaria \bar{q} quizer fazer deue mais considerar a distancia de hum Navio a outro e a onda \bar{q} se mete entre elles deue tirar e fazer pontr.a p[er] a linha viziuel da culatra tirado ouino da loya p.a q. essa linha viziuel corra parrallela com a da alma da pessa isto se entende na distancia de ponto em branco \bar{q} no mar sempre se costuma pelej[ar] de perto; e feita apontaria tanto \bar{q} o navio comessar a levantar darei fogo a pessa por \bar{q} o tempo \bar{q} se gaste nesta operação sahir abasta chegar as navio contrario he capaz de chegar a onda ao dito Navio e levantallo a melhor ponto p.a se ferir e toda a maxima dos tiros maritimos consiste em attender p. a onda por \bar{q} . todo o acerto esta em saber guardar della.

Dizeime de \bar{q} aparelhos nessesita hum Art.^o p.a obrar bem seu officio.

Nececita de quatro Agulhas hua de garabatilho, outra de ponta direita outra de coatro quines e outra de verruma; hum compasso de pontas direitas e outro compasso de pontas tortas, hua esquadra com seu perpendicular hum calibre graduado e hum vnivel.

Dizeime de \bar{q} prestimo he cada instrum.to desses e p. \bar{q} . serue seu efeito.

Digo q̄ Agulha de ponta direita he p.a alimpar o fogão athe chegar acerga. Agulha de quarto quines he p. furar o cartuxo; Agulha de verruma he p.a quando estiuer emtupido o fogão. Agulha de garauatilho q̄ se chama saca metal he p.a reconhecer a grossura da Pessa na cullatra. O compaço de pontas direitas he p.a reconhecer o diametro das pessas e o compasso de pontas voltadas he p.a reconhecer a grossura de seus metaes a esquadra com perpendicular he p.a anivelar o plano da peça. e tirar por suas elevações graduado athe o sexto ponto q̄ he a sua mayor elevação. o calibre graduado he p.a conhecer sua bocadura ou diametro da balla comq̄ qualquer Peça. vnivel he p. tirar o meyo a Peça.

APPENDIX II

Ms. 105. Regimento p.a se poder carregar toda a pessa
de Artellaria, page: 216.

Primeiram.e hũu Bazalisco pesa 150 q.tais e tem de comprido trinta e sinco palmos e atira a poluora conforme o pilouro.

Ha outros basiliscos q̄ chamão a hũus bastardos q̄ tem de pezo 70 q. tais e de comprido 37 palmos peza o seu pilouro qu.o arr.s Hũu, Canhão ordin.º não he tamanho e tem camara q̄ se chama ordinro. porq̄. se funde a peça com camara p̄. o lugar da poluora hua mea esfera tem de Calibre doze quintaes, e de comprido doze palmos e atira dezasseis arr.s de ferro. Huu espallafato tem de Cobre 90 q.eis e de comprido deçasseis palmos e peza o pelouro 90 arateis. Ha saluage tem corenta q.ais de cobre e de comprido dezaseis palmos e peza o pilouro 45 arr.s de pedra.

Hũu Camello tem de cobre 34 quintais e tem de comprido quatorze palmos e peza 33 arateis de pedra e darlheas a terça p.e de poluora.

Hũu Camete tem de cobre doze quintais e de comprido honze palmos peza o pelouro doze arrateis de pedra.

Huu falção tem de cobre sinco quintais e tem de comprido doze palmos e peza o pelouro doze arrateis e m.º

Huu heru(?) tem de cobre 5 a e peza o pilouro 3 quoartas, tem de comprido 7 palmos e tira hu aratel de polvora.

p: 217.

... Huu leão tem de cobre quarenta e sinco quintaes e de comprido dezasseis palmos peza o pelouro quorenta arateis.

Tem Hua Aguia de cobre 45 q.ais e de comprido 30 palmos e tem de pelouro trinta arateis.

Tem Hua Serpe quorenta e sinco q.ais e de comprido 30 palmos, peza o pelouro trinta arateis.

Tem hua esfera vinte e quatro q.ais e tem de comprido dezaseis palmos e de pelouro doze arrateis.

APPENDIX III

Carta do officio de veedor moor das artelharyas da guerra com declaraçam dos poderes que tem etc.

Dom Affomsso etc. A quantos esta carta virem fazemos saber que nos comfiando da bomdade e destriçam d'Allvaro de Brito cavaleiro de nossa cassa Teemos por bem e damollo por veedor moor das nossas artelharias da guerra segumdo ataa gora foy e pera bõ avyamentto daquillo que ha de fazer por nosso serviço no que ao dito officio pertence lhe damos nossa autoridade pera usar e mandar fazer estas cousas a jssso escriptas, segumdo sse adiamte seguem / alem do mais que ao dito officio he apropriado.

Primeiramente mandamos que elle tenha poder de tomar e mandar recadar pera nos quaaes quer coussas allmazeës e artelharias de guerra que em certo sse achar que he nosso / ou souber parte homde som / assy das que tiverem nossos synaaes como outras quaaesquer que seiam / com tamto que ho que dello assy achar verdadeiramente seer nosso e for Recadado / faça loguo entregar aos nossos allmoxarifes e officiaaes dos ditos allmazeës e artelharias / fazemdo todo poeer em Recepta sobre elles aos escriptivaões de seus officios pera viir a booa Recadaçam.

Item mandamos que os juizes e justiças e officiaaes dos lugaaes, dem per seus alvaraacs as bestas e boys e carros que pera as coussas do dito officio pertencerem quando hordenarmos que as artelharias seiam levadas alguũs lugares / os quaaes averom seus alugueres segundo per nos he hordenado / E esto dos dinheiros que pera ello mandarmos desembargar / E tambem lhe dem pella dita guissa / barcas pera as ditas artelharias quando mester fezerem.

Item mandamos as sobre ditas justiças que lhe dem os officiaaes que forem necessarios pera servirem nas ditas artelharias e coussas quando a nosso serviço cumprir / E mandamos aos ditos nossos almoxarifes e recebedores dos ditos nossos almazeës e artelharias que per seus alvaraacs entregem aquelles officiaaes e pessoas que andarem em a nossa hoste / ou forem a outra parte com nossa gente darmas que tiverem nossa autoridade pera os receber / todallas artelharias e coussas que ao dito officio pertencerem / E do que entregarem / cobrem em seus mandados ou conhecimentos daquelles que as receberem / e per o trellado deste Regimento e carta / que os escriptivaões dos ditos allmazeës e artelharias registarem em seus livro / E por os ditos seus allvaraacs e conhecimentos / mandamos aos nossos comtadores que lho recebam em despesa /

Item mandamos aos veeadores da nossa fazemda e veedor de nossa casa que nom dem nem mandem dar nenhuñas cartas nem alvaraãs de temças nem moradias a estas pessoas que se sseguem—a saber—

bombardeiros ferreiros e carpinteiros e pedreiros que ssam obrigados de servir no dito seu officio saluo por alvaraas do dito Alvaro de Brito pera seerem dello pagos segundo servirem e o merecerem.

Item mandamos que elle possa prover os nossos castellos dos almazeës e artelharias que tiverem e veer as que forem despesas e per que guisa / pera se achado for que as gastaram como nom deuyam / os fazer pagar aos que as rreceberam / E assy fazer entregar outras se as hy nom ouver como emtender per nosso serviço / E esto pera hordenamça digo hordenamça qe lhe sobrello pera ello daremos synada per nos /

E porem mandamos a todollos nossos veedores da fazenda e ao de nossa casa / E a todollos nossos corregedores juizes e justiças officiaaes e pessoas que esto ouverem de ver que lhe obedeçam a todallas ditas coussas e cumpram seus mandados no que dito he / dando lhe pena de cadea aquelles que nom fizerem as ditas coussas pella maneira sobre dita por nom parecer nosso serviço aas suas mingoas O quall Alvaro de Brito jurou em a nossa chamcelaria sobre os santos avangelhos que bem e directamente e como deve / obre e huse do dito officio / E guarde a vos o nosso serviço e ao povoo seu direito / Dada em Santarem XIII dias d'Abrill Gomçalle Annes a fez anno de Nosso Señor Jhesû Christo de mill CCCCRIX

Torre do Tombo.

Livro d'Extras pagina setenta e dois segunda columna a setenta e dois verso 2a. columna.

NOTE II

MARINHARIA

To the same Conde Henrique who laid the foundation of the army of Portugal, should probably be given the credit of the beginning of her navy, when he built his little galés of 20 metres in length with their two masts and lateen sails, but deckless, to fight the corsairs from Argelia who ravaged his coasts. These vessels had increased in size when D. Sanches II. started in 1240 on his expedition against Ayamonte, and further carried castellos at prow and poop to contain the fightingmen, while square-sailed navios redondos and the first Portuguese Náu were added to the fleet under D. Affonso III. (1248—1279).

Timber, such as masts, needed for ship-building, had to be largely brought from the forests of Germany and Scandinavia—and timber-merchants were the earliest and most important foreign settlers in the seaports of Portugal—till D. Diniz conceived the plan of laying a great stretch of country—o pinhal de Leiria—under pine-trees which not only defended it against the inroads of the sea, but also provided the material for future ships.

The Chronicler of the King relates how he had his armadas and fleets ever ready to meet the Moors of Africa and Granada. (1) He created the Office of Admiral of the Realm, and not unnaturally turned to the foremost naval state in Europe, to supply a suitable man for the post; Genoa was now at the height of her greatness, the result of her naval enterprise, and from there the King invited over the distinguished Micér

(1) Ruy de Pina, Chron. de D. Diniz, cap. 1.

Manoel Pessagna. He gave him a salary of 3000 libras, a fifth of all plunder taken at sea from the Moors, a personal escort of not less than three galés and an extensive grant of land close outside the Capital(1), while at the same time the office was made hereditary in his family. He was further conceded the privilege of appointing twenty of his countrymen as military commanders (alcaides) and pilotes (arraizes) in the King's fleet. (2)

Marine trade was greatly encouraged by D. Fernando I. (1367—1383) who founded the first Naval Insurance Company, the *Companhia de Segurança Naval*, in Europe,(3) and stimulated ship-building and the purchase of vessels above fifty tons by the grant of special privileges, (4) just as D. Affonso Henrique in 1179 conferred the rank of cavaleiro on various grades of ship-officers. (5)

In spite of the opposition of his people, (6) who disliked the increasing expenditure, D. Fernando I. strengthened his fleet till it consisted of 32 galés, each driven by a hundred oars, and thirty navios redondos.

In 1385 we find Portuguese galés of 300 rowers each making their way from Portugal to England, and twelve

(1) This was the Pedreira; with the growth of Lisbon this is now in the heart of the city, where the Carmo stands, and till recently was known as the bairro do Almirante.

(2) These Genoese received, Alcaides 12½ libras and arraizes 8 libras a month with bread, biscuit and water.

(3) Chron. de D. Fernando, cap. 90.

(4) Carta d'El Rey, 8. XII. 1380: "naves ou baixes tilhados de cinquenta toneis acima".

(5) Foral de Lisboa, 1197, (in: Port. Mon. leg. et cons): "De navio verdadeiramente mando, que o alcaide (commander) e dois espadaleiros (steersmen) e dois proeiros (lookout-men) e um petintal (galley-man); hajam fôro de cavalleiros".

(6) Cortes do Reino, Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa, fl. 120 v.º "a este artyguo rrespondemos que nos nom entendemos de ffazer mais galees que aquellas que som compridouras pera guarda e defensom de nosso regno . . . (Cortes 1372).

years later a rate was levied from the citizens of Lisbon to provide for the defence by sea of its port. (1)

Service on board was unpopular among the king's subjects and the news that galés were to be fitted out for war was often a signal for the men liable to leave the country and hire themselves out to foreign powers. (2) The consequence was that Portugal found herself compelled to secure foreign help on her own account and the necessary funds were raised by an additional tax. (3) Further attention was devoted under D. Affonso V. to this important question of naval recruits. (4) Registers were prepared of suitable men whether actually seafaring or not who could be drawn upon when required; they were known as *galiotas* and were divided into groups of twenty or *vintenas do mar*, on a basis of residence. Over each *vintena* was a head-man, *capataz*, or *vintaneiro*.

Nevertheless the drain abroad was found to be so serious that D. Manoel "in view of the need there is in our Reinos of pilotes, mestres and mariners, in consequence of the numerous and great voyages which, praise be to our Lord, we undertake and the great ar-

(1) Law of the 30th of July 1397 in: Oliveira, *Elementos para a historia do Municipio de Lisboa*.—In 1415 D. João I.'s fleet consisted of 33 náus, 59 galeras, 128 barcos, galeões, caravelas, baixéis (Chr. D. Luiz Inf. page 7).

(2) Fortunato da Almeida, *Historia de Portugal*, III.—The duke of Borgonha was a great patron of such Portuguese mariners.

(3) Cortes de Evora 1442, cap. 22, Cod. Bibl. Nac. Lisb. fl. 12: Bem sabe V. M.^o como el Rei vosso padre por fazer quando lhe compresse sua armaçom de galees tostemente e por tirar grandes espeitamentos e sayorias que sse portal azo sseguiam, desy fugida de muitos homens mareantes que se partiam do regno quando aviam de armar galees, ordenou que todos los alcaides e arraizes e galliotes e pescadores, que pagavam dizima, lhe pagassem outra, que é o quinto, e que os escusasse de tal encarreguo de galees, e que el busaria galliotes per seus dinheiros, e asy o ffez de ffeito."

(4) Ord. Affons. I. I. tit. 70.

madas we engage therein", forbade his subjects from taking service outside. (1)

We have now reached the days of the Navigator, Prince Henrique "the first within our time to conceive of voyages like these", as Cadamosto said of him, who from his study at Sagres inspired the naval policy of his country during the reigns of his father D. João I. (1385—1433), his brother D. Duarte (1433—1438) and his nephew D. Affonso V. (1438—1481). The story of his achievements has been dealt with elsewhere. (2) For the first time a king in Europe described himself as "rei daquem e dalem mar em Africa".

The vessels which were fitted out at D. Sanches II.'s "palatium navigiorum Regis"(3), or were constructed for D. Diniz at the Ribeira de Alfama; the war-ships which were turned out in such numbers from the yards or estaleiros de Oporto to fight the Moor at Alcacer Seguer (4); the 16 náus and 5 caravellas which accompanied the Infante D. João to France in 1476 (5); and the fifty tonners in which Bartholomeu Dias started on his voyages, were rapidly eclipsed in size, and in 1491 a monster of a 1000 tons safely made its way from Lisbon to Italy to take an Infanta of Portugal as the Bride to an Italian (6) Prince.

D. Manoel's own vessels were first built on the south bank of the Tejo at Azinheiro, and it was there that the King stood and watched while the galeões, in which Vasca da Gama was to sail to the East, were baptized and named. He, however, decided also to enlarge D. Affonso V.'s old estaleiro, which occupied the site of

(1) Cartas de Aff. Albuquerque, tom. III, 194.

(2) Fitzler, op. cit.

(3) Monum. Lusit. tom. III. p. 258.

(4) Goes, Cron. do Princ. D. João, cap. X.

(5) ibid. cap. XXI.

(6) Cron. de João II. cap. 147. "a mais formosa e melhor acabada e a maior que nunca até então fora vista".

the present Arsenal da marinha, and the great Ribeira das Náus of Lisboa was the result. The ship-yard itself was increased in size and was a hundred and twenty-four braças in length, and from thirty-six to fifty braças wide. (1) By the side of it the king built a palace, from which he could always watch his men working at his ships, as well as oficinas or naval-factories and great armazens for ship-materials. As many as two thousand men were employed in sawing firewood to make charcoal, and a hundred women in preparing tow for the caulkers. (2) From here were launched, in the words of Severim de Faria, "the náus of India, which are the largest vessels which to-day sail the seas". (3)

In 1570, however, the size of the náus da Carreira, which went to India, was fixed at between 300 and 450 tons on the ground of "greater convenience, less danger and smaller cost of navigation". (4)

The commerce with the new discoveries was the commerce of the King, carried in his ships, guarded by his army and navy, and paid for by his revenue. This fact is well shown by the institution of the Casa da India e Guiné, which was housed within the King's palace. It consisted of four mêsas, two of which dealt directly with the Indian trade in cloth, precious stones and drugs, while the third supervised the finances of the trade, and the fourth, the mêsa da armada, was entrusted with

(1) Ms. 675 fl. 6 v.º—Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa. Anno 1552.

(2) For details of the workmen employed see Oliveira, Grandezas de Lisboa, p. 176—181 and Note I. Armaria, under: Almazem.

(3) M.el Severin de Faria, Discursos Varios, disc. I.

(4) Regimento da Casa da India, 1570, fol. 217: "ordeno . . . que todas as Náos . . . assim neste Regno como na India, para haverem de andar nesta navegação, não passe cada huma dellas de 450 toneladas, nem seja menos de 300, que fuy informado que era o porte, que devião ter mais commodamente e com menos risco e despeza navegar . . .' The usual size under D. Manoel was 400 tons, and under D. João III. 8—900. The increasing size had resulted in heavy loss in case of the ship-wrecks, which were frequent.

matters of armament and defence. A Provedor presided over the whole establishment, and to each *mêsa* was attached its own staff. (1)

There was further the *Armazem de Guine e India*, which was under its own Provedor and was responsible, generally speaking, for the whole efficient working of the *Ribeira*. (2)

It was early realized that the expense and risks of the royal monopoly were too heavy a burden, while the immensity of the eastern trade was more and more appreciated. "The native produce is so vast that all the ships of Christendom will not suffice and there is enough for every one", wrote D. Ayres, the brother of D. Vasco da Gama, to the king. (3) An arrangement was therefore come to by which certain wealthy merchants, like the *Marchiones* and the great commercial firms of Augsburg and Nürnberg which had branches in Lisbon, were allowed to fit out a fixed number of vessels to accompany the king's fleet. All the expenses of such vessels were borne by the merchants, who were named *Armadores*, and in return for the privilege, which was for a definite period at a time, made a yearly payment to the king and also undertook to deliver to him all the cargoes they received at a figure previously decided by his officers.

The Portuguese trade destroyed the prosperity of Venice, which was built on a similar monopoly. The latter's stealthy attempt to influence the Indian ambassadors who came to Lisbon in 1502 to discuss the pepper question was a failure and the offer which the Republic made to D. João III., who was known to be short of funds, to purchase from him the exclusive right to the

(1) For details see, Oliveira, *Livro das Grandezas da India*. p. 159—161. Ed. 1620.

(2) See details in Note I *Armaria*.

(3) *Gaveta 50, Maç. 9 .Doc. 11—Cananor, 2. I. 1519 (Torre do Tombo)*.

Naval construction had reached a high standard in the East long before the appearance there of the Portuguese, and at Goa a large ship-yard with the various stores and foundries for arms was existing, when it fell into the hands of the Portuguese. (2) This was developed by Albuquerque and his successors till it almost rivalled the one at Lisbon and included the Ribeira Grande, Ribeira das Galés and the Ribeira Nova (Pequena?) as well as the Caes de S. Catharina.

At the first of these were kept the rowing-vessels which served in the Armadas, with the artillery which was cast at the foundry or fundição which was attached, along with the Ferraria or arms-factory, and two almazens or stores of munitions.

S. Catharina was the spot where the yearly fleet from Portugal was usually anchored; on its return journey as a rule the vessels received their cargoes at the Ribeira

- (1) They spent for 5 ships in 1588 85qos 872\$619 rs.
in 1589 101 qos 705\$672 rs
in 1590 111 qos 550\$623 rs
in 1592 95 qos 803\$948 rs

Extract of the "livro dos Armadores". See Falção, op. c.
Ms.—Bibl. Nac. de. Lisb.

- (2) Correa, Lendas, II, 60.

- (3) The expenditure on the Ribeira Grande in 1588 was 6 q.^{os} 398\$000 rs, distributed as follows:

125\$320 Almozarife e 6 peões; — 100\$ Guarda-mór; — 100\$ Mestre da Rib.a Grande; — 100\$ Patrão-mór da Rib.a Gr.e; — 20\$ Pilote-mór; — 36\$ Mestre dos Calefates; — 40\$ Mestre da Cordoaria; — 24\$ Mestre da Tanoaria; — 108\$40 naiques que vigiã de noite; — 103\$280—12 naiques que vigiã de dia; — 161\$80 o moco-dão-mór dos marinheiros e 20 homens e 7 naiques; — 60\$ Mestre de Ferraria; — 11\$100 Catroal; — 60\$ escrivão apontador.”

At the same period the expenditure on the Rib.a das Galés was 2:954\$010rs (200\$ Provedor-100\$ almoxarife; 30\$ escrivão apontador; 108\$ Mestre das Gallez; 52\$300 Mestre Remolar). (Ms. Falção, op. cit.)

das Galés under the orders of the Vedor da Fazenda, whose duty it was to supervise the work. (1) It is interesting to note that the place of the modern crane was supplied by elephants, the best of which came from Ceylon. Portuguese writers preserved the legend that the Ceylon elephant, as soon as it joined the herd at the Ribeira, was greeted with obeisances from the others in acknowledgement of its superiority. (2)

The vessels employed on the various trade-routes starting from Goa, whether leading to Ormuz, Moçambique or Macáu, anchored at the Caes de Fortaleza and their cargoes were dealt with in the Alfandega or Customs which stood close by. This included the great Bagaçal or Warehouse, near which stood the Peso or Scales, on which the goods to be weighed were loaded by elephants.

On the staff at the Ribeira there was a Guardamór and an Almoxarife, the latter having charge of the Almazem as well ; the Artillery Armazem was under a separate almoxarife. These three, as well as the Mestre of the Ribeira, received the same salary, which in the 17th century was one half of the amount drawn by the Engenheiro-Mór of State. There was also a Piloto-Mór who received more pay than the Patrão-mór, just as the head of the arms-factory earned more than the Mestre in charge of the gunfoundry. At night the Ribeira was guarded by a body of twenty Naiques or Indian watchmen.

At the Ribeira das Galés there was a separate Provedor, the next in position being the Mestre-Carpinteiro, who was paid half the sum drawn by the former and less than the salary of the Captain of the Galé Real, which was kept here in later times.

(1) Ms. Illuminat. Pedro Barreto de Resende, *Relação da Índia*. N. 139, 140. Also: Ayala, *Goa antiga e moderna*, cap. IV.

(2) Ribeiro, op. cit. I. cap. XVII.

There was another Ribeira at Cochim, where was built in 1511—1513 the great *Náu de S. Catharina do Monte Sinai*, of 800 tons, the magnificence of which with its silk and velvet fittings, when D. Beatriz, King Manuel's daughter, travelled in her to Nice, has been rapturously described by Garcia de Rezende (1) In 1525 there were employed here in addition to the Indian workmen, twenty-three Portuguese carpenters, thirty-six *calafates* or caulkers, fifteen tanners (2) and thirty black-smiths.

A third Ribeira, but of less importance, was maintained at Baçaim, where timber and other materials could be obtained at a cheaper rate; this was in charge of a *patrão*.

The Portuguese discouraged ship-building by the Indians, and the result was that before long they themselves began to suffer from the lack of tonnage. A report of 1545, already quoted, reads as follows: "In India people are prohibited from making ships . . . I think it is greatly to Your Highness' interest to send to those regions an order to be proclaimed in Goa and Cochim that it is Your Highness' pleasure that every man who wishes to make a ship of *alto bordo*, secured by nails, limited in size, which can be of use in any case of need for placing on board men and artillery, may do so where he likes; and may it please God, that there should be many to do this." (3)

From the time of their first visit to Ceylon the Portuguese had cast longing eyes on its great stores of timber and other materials which were badly needed at their Ribeiras; and the offer to supply these materials, along with the promise to accept Christianity, was among the chief inducements held out from time to time by the

(1) Rezende, *Hida da Infanta D. Beatriz pera Saboya*.

(2) *Lembranças da India*, f. 5 v.^o

(3) *Maço de cartas de Visoreis* No. 159.—Torre de Tombo.

Ceylon Princes in their attempts to buy military assistance. (1)

When Gil Eannes went round Cape Bojador he was, it is said, the first Portuguese navigator to take a piece of artillery on board of his little ship; and Dom Manoel is entitled to the distinction of constructing the first caravelas to carry heavy guns. Says his Chronicler Garcia de Rezende: "As he was ingenious in every kind of craftsmanship and well skilled in knowledge of fire-arms by the many experiments which he conducted . . . he discovered and directed how very great bombards might travel in small caravellas and fire so low that they went skimming over the water; and he it was who first invented this. A few caravelas with these great tiros compel many great náos to strike their sails, because up till that time heavy tiros were not carried on the sea . . . So feared on the high seas for a long time were the caravelas of Portugal that no navios, however great they may be, dared to face them . . ." (2) The King's efforts were well seconded by his favourite gun-founder, the German João Goterrez, and in 1513 Estevão Paes, who was in charge of the Armazem of Artillery, watched with delight as Goterrez fired his latest gun from Cata-que-farás to Pontal d'Almada across the great river. (3)

It was not often that a Portuguese warship, however large, carried so heavy a weight of metal as the Náo S. Catharina de Monte Sinai, which was armed with 537 pieces, including 102 bombardas, described as "heavy, very large, very strong, very terrible". (4)

(1) Gaveta 20. M. 7. D. 28.—Torre de Tombo. See also: Fr. Simão de Coimbra (Corp. Chron. P. I. M. 78. D. 109); Ribeiro, op. cit. I. III and Corp. Chron. P. II. M. 242. Doc. 44.

(2) Garcia de Rezende, Hida da Infanta.

(3) C. Cron. P. I. M. 12. Doc. 92.—See Sousa Viterbo, Armaria.

(4) The other were 35 falcões, 50 lagartixas, 350 berços.—See Garcia de Rezende, Hida da Infanta.

But the King's ships were usually well armed. Sailing-ships of from 60 to 100 tons carried an *espera* at the prow, two *pedreiros* at the stern, and on each side of the deck two *falcões* and four *berços*. For an additional hundred tons two extra half-*esperas* and some *berços* would be placed on either side of the deck, and so on in proportion. Even the little *galé* carried two half-*esperas* on the poop. (1)

GALE

It is convenient to divide all vessels into two classes, those driven mainly by oars and those using sails. Of the former class the *galés* serve as a good illustration and, as stated by Severin de Faria, "were the first vessels used in Portugal for maritime warfare". (2) They appear to have been the direct descendants of the *naves longae* of the Romans, and were long and narrow, but low in the beam. The type was largely used by the Venetians and Turks in the Mediterranean, but were not suited for journeys of any considerable length. With the immense extension of sea voyages which accompanied the age of discovery, the building of *galés* came to a temporary standstill, only to be revived in 1515, when they were constructed of so great a size, that they were spoken of as monsters with which people frightened their children (3). The size, however was reduced in the next reign, when *gallés* formed a regular section of the yearly Indian fleet.

Matheus de Pisa, who saw the fleet which sailed to Ceuta in 1415, described the vessels as *triremes* and *biremes* (4); the former, no doubt, were identical with

(1) Oliveyra, *Guerra do mar*. See also Sim. Botelho, *Lembranças da India*, f. 150 and 170.

(2) Faria, *Varios discursos*, p. 66.

(3) Fern. Oliveira, *Arta da guerra do mar*, fl. 42 v.º

(4) Math. de Pisa, *Bellum Ceptense*.

the galés da tres of Fernão d'Oliveira's book (1), and the latter were galeotas or fustas.

The Portuguese were the first to roof over the galés, the cover extending from prow to poop (2). On occasions of State much extravagance was displayed over these awnings, which were sometimes of velvet and silk, often in the Royal colours. (3) The accommodation for passengers was, no doubt, limited, but in the case of important travellers the fittings were of the most luxurious kind.

Generally a gallé had three masts: the foremast or da traquete, which carried the foresail; the mainmast or grande, and the mizzen or mezena with a three-cornered top-gallant-sail (artimão). At the poop itself was a little tendal or tent.

On either side ran the wooden benches on which sat the rowers, the number on each depending on the size of the ship.

The galés were divided into:

1. Galé Real, with 29 banks at each side. (4)
2. da quatro, with 24 banks at each side and 190 rowers, as only three men could sit on the banks of the prow. (5)
3. bastarda, with 24 banks; this was provided with a main and foremast, with two yards for the great sail or bastarda and the smaller round sail or burda; there was a third yard (verga) for the lug-sail (treu), which was used in stormy weather.

(1) Oliveira, O livro da fabrica das Náos.

(2) Azurrara, Cron. D. João I., p. III. cap. 15.

(3) Fernão Lopes, Cron. de D. Fernando, cap. 49.

(4) The expenditure on the chief officers of the staff of the Galé Real at Goa in 1588 was as follows: 100\$ ao capitão — 59\$800 ao fizico-mór — 24\$ ao botiqueiro — 30\$ ao surgião-mór — 20\$ ao barbeiro — 30\$ ao capitão das manchuas. (ms. 265—Bibl. Nac.)

(5) As Oliveira op. cit. condemns galés with more than four oars at each bank, it can be inferred that vessels with more were not unknown in his time.

4. da três, with 22 banks and 130 men.
5. galeota, with 18 banks of two rowers for each bank. (1)

A further type was built at Goa, after a Ribeira was constructed there, and was called galé sotyl.

In a Galé das tres 130 men under a Comitre and his assistant were employed at rowing; when the men were convicts, there was also a meirinho. There were 5 proeiros who were considered more reliable men and were entrusted with the watching, as well as 15 mariners, all under a patrão, besides the usual carpenter, caulker and the cooper who was in charge of the water-barrels. Medical attendance of a crude sort was supplied by the barber-surgeon; and as a rule 40 soldiers were carried on board. (2)

GALEÃO

Though the name galeão was known to the Portuguese from early times (3), this vessel was not generally built in the country till the reign of D. Manuel, and its design, which at first approximated to that of the galé, as may be seen in the illustration in Val. Fernandez's Incunabula, was no doubt based on the Venetian. By 1519 Gallions formed a recognised unit of the King's fleet, and they were extensively built 6 years later at Goa for use in the

(1) Cf. Lopes de Mendonça's edition of Oliveira, *Fabrica das Náos*.

(2) Oliveira, *Guerra de mar*.—In a sailing vessel the crew was for

10 tons 2 mariners and 1 grumete or cabin-boy

20 " 3 " " 1 " "

30 " 4 " " 1 " "

For every additional four tons there was an additional mariner, and for three mariners an additional grumete.

A vessel of 400 tons carried 100 mariners, 1 mestre and 1 piloto. (Oliveira, *op. cit.* cap. II.)

(3) *Cancioneiro do Vaticano*, Canc. 33.—Garcia de Rezende, in: *Chronica de D. João II*. The vessels there referred to were of low beam and unsuitable for long voyages.

Indian waters. (1) Their capacity reached to 1000 tons, though the usual size was about 500 tons. (2)

The dimensions of a vessel of the latter size were:

Keel	=	18	rumos	or	108	palmas	de	goa	(3)
Prow	=	30	palmas	de	goa				
Poop	=	9	"	"	"				
Breadth	=	52	"	"	"				
Hight of Stem	=	45	"	"	"				
Hight of Stern	=	37	"	"	"				

The name Galeaça is found applied to a type of vessel by the ancient writers, but it is difficult to say if this was to any substantial extent different from a galeão.

The cost of a galeão, fully furnished with the usual supplies and extras and ready for immediate use, (excluding the artillery) was 13 : 250\$000. (4)

(1) Lembranças da India, 1525.

(2) Details regarding the masts are given in Medidas para fazer um galião de 500 toneis, in Ms. 225.—Bibl. Nac. of Lisbon.

(3) This is the old French term goue, which was the unit of length in the Mediterranean ship-yards, and six such palmos were equal to seven ordinary palmos or spans. A Rum (talha) is the length of the unit-tonnel and was one braça or 6 palmos de goa. The greatest diameter (parea) of the tonnel was two thirds of its length.—See Sev. de Faria, op. cit.; Fr. João Pacheco, Divertimento erudito, and Bluteau. See also Lopez de Mendonça, op. cit.

(4) This information is contained in a Manuscript (ms. 265, Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa), named: Livro de toda a fazenda, fl. 207 v.^o, as follows: Custo de Hum Galleão de quinhentos e cincoenta tonelladas aparelhado com todas as couzas necessarias sobre celles e mantimentos, soldos do capitão e gente do mar, mantimentos e mais cousas necessarios the posta á vella não entrando gente de guerra, nem artelharia.

Soma o que he necessario para fazer hum galleão

 pella maneira que assima se declara,

 treze contos duzentos e cincoenta milrs 13 q.os 250\$

Por esta maneira.

7 q^o 700\$—rs o custo do casco (hull) de 550 toneladas a 14\$ rs por tonelada

FUSTA

Fustas were almost certainly of Asiatic or African origin and were adopted by the Portuguese from the Moors. The type resembled the galeotas and bregantins and all were fitted with lateen sails; (1) they were the biremes of Matheus de Pisa.

Their light draught made them specially useful at estuaries and back-waters, (2) but precise details regarding them, as stated by writers on the subject, (3) are not easy to obtain.

Owing to the cheaper cost of construction they were largely built before 1515, when galleys were temporarily in disfavour.

BERGANTIM

The bergantin probably originated in the North; (4) its average length was twenty-eight palmos de goa, with a width of five and a half palmos, and it was fitted with fourteen banks.

- 1 q^o 650\$—rs Por 550 quintaes de Exarcea (shrouds) a 3\$rs o quintal
 800\$—rs Para vellas de tres esquipações (sets ?)
 200\$—rs Para seis ancoras a 33\$333 rs cada hũa
 400\$—rs os mastos
 400\$—rs as vergas (yards)
 100\$—rs para soldo do capitão (superintendent)
 600\$—rs soldo da gente do mar (shipbuilders)
 Para 4 meses.

1 q^o 400\$—rs de mantimentos pa 4 meses.

(1) F. Mendes Pinto, *Perigrinações*: "... aparecião duas velas latinas ... q̄ erão duas fustas ..." — A group of fustas was named fustalha. Goes, *Chron.* do Pr. D. João, cap. X.

(2) For example Diniz Dias in Guine 1447; see Chr. de Guiné by Azurara, cap. 71; and Miguel Ferreyra in Ceylon (Col. S. Lourenço l. III. f. 342).

(3) E. g. see Jal, *Archéolochique Nautique*, art. fusta and Lopez de Mendonça, op. cit. The derivation of the name from fuste said to mean timber suggested by Oliveira, the chief authority on Portuguese shipping, cannot be accepted. (*Guerra do mar*, fl. 22.)

(4) Jal, op. cit. art. Bergantine.

The importance of the rowing vessels so far described waned before the sailing-ship in Europe, but they were largely built and extensively used for war and commerce in the African and Asiatic coasts, especially as a means of communication between Goa and the forts controlled from there.

Among the sailing-vessels the first place should be given to the renowned

NÁU PORTUGUESA

which is identified by some with the *navis oneraria* of Matheus de Pisa. (1) They were originally of a hundred tons, but the size was rapidly increased till D. João II. built a vessel of a thousand tons, which was found so unwieldy that it was finally kept anchored at the mouth of the Tejo, as a floating fort. (2) Those employed on the Indian voyages were usually of 600 tons. They had two and later three decks (3); a stone sculpture at the Casa da Bica in the Desterro of Lisbon, which belonged to the descendants of Affonso de Albuquerque, still preserves the likeness of a Nau of the early 16th century.

The dimensions of a 600 tonner were:

Keel	=	102	palmas	de	goa
Prow	=	45	"	"	"
Poop	=	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	"
Width	=	50	"	"	"
Height of stem	=	50	"	"	"
Height of stern	=	42	"	"	"

(1) Lopez de Mendonça, *Estudos sobre navios portuguezes nos seculos XVe XVI.*

(2) Garcia de Rezende, *Chron. D. João II.*, cap. 146 "a mais formosa e melhor acabada e a mayor que nunca até então fora vista de tão grossa, forte e basta liança, e tão grosso tavaado, que a artilharia a não podia passar, e tinha tantas bombardas e outras artelharias que foy muyto fallado nella em muitas partes . . .

(3) Falcão, *Livro de toda fazenda.*

The cost of such a vessel was 292os 354\$000 rs and the details of this are also preserved in the "Livro de toda a fazenda" (1).

(1) The details are as follows (fls. 208, 208 vº, 209):

Soma o que he necessario pa fazer hũa náó para a India, Mastos, Enxarceas, sobrecellentes, mantim.tos de gente do mar e guerra e mais cousas necessarias the posta á vella ...

Por esta maneira:

14 qos 411\$—rs o custo do casco (hull) da Náó em preto feita e acabada de maneira que possa fazer viagem:

Pella maneira abaixo declarada.

1 qos 550\$—rs 2:200 Páos de souaro (cork-wood) a 700 reis cada Páo

720\$—rs 1:800 Páos de pinho manço (edible Pine) a 400 reis hums por outros

440\$—rs 80 Dzas de tauoado a 1500 rs a duzia

216\$—rs 60 Dzas de tauoado de Alcaxa a 3\$600 a duzia

330\$—rs 150 Dzas de tauoado de forro (planks for sheathing) a 2\$000 rs a duzia

120\$—rs 60 Dzas de tauoado de cuberta (deckplanks) a 2\$00 rs a duzia

60\$—rs 200 Páos de Pinho brauo (wild pine) p.a exorar a 2000 rs cada hum

192\$—rs 600 Latas (deck-beams) a 32rs cada hũa.

33\$—rs 30 duzias de tauoado de Frandes p.a formar varanda, arca de bomba e outras cousas a 1100 rs a duzia.

2 qos 340\$—rs 900 quintaes de pregadura (nails) a 2600 rs q.al

210\$—rs 300 quintaes de breu (resin) a 700rs q.al

270\$—rs 100 quintaes de linho (flax) a 2700 rs q.al

160\$—rs 160 quintaes d'estopa preta (black tow) a 1\$000 rs o quintal.

68\$—rs 40 quintaes de chumbo (lead) laurada a 1700 rs o quintal.

75\$—rs 150 milhares de pregos stopares (scupper nails) a 500 rs o milhar

40\$—rs 20 milhares de pregos de escopeirar a 2000 rs o milhar

300\$—rs 30 quartos dazeite para gallagalla e engraxar o breu (oil for the tar-mixture and the resin)

100\$—rs cal (lime), stopa e jornaes para gallagalla

160\$—rs fretes das madeiras da pedern (?)

90\$—rs cordas desparto para pranchas (esparto-ropes)

2 qos 750\$—rs jornais de carpinteiros, entrando a lotação ao mar.

2 qos 790\$—rs jornais de calafates (caulkers), entrando a lotação

- 40\$—rs 20 barris d'alcatrão (tar) para fazer preta a Náu
 12\$—rs ao ferreiro da furação (puncher)
 290\$—rs governadura (helm), cadeas (chains) e ostais (stays),
 cadeas de Xarcea, argollas de coartaes, bancaes
 (bench-covers), carros de bomba.
 120\$—rs leme, cana, pinção, bandas e mesas (helm and its
 parts)
 550\$—rs danifícamento da Xarcea da lotação ao mar, grades,
 cabreste (capstan), amaduras (cradle), cadernais
 (pulleys), Testor, sestos (compass), calhão (flint-
 stone), seuo (grease)
 150\$—rs goardas da Ribeira, servidores e g.te q̄ tem cuid.º
 da fabrica da Rib.a
 30\$—re Hum virador p.a o guindaste (windlass of the
 crane)
 65\$—rs batel e esquife (boats)
 150\$—rs gente do mar pra a lotação e serviço da Náos
 fs 209
 14 qos 943\$—rs Mastos, Xarceas, vellas sobrecellentes e mais
 cousas . . . necessarias athé a Náo poder dar a vella.
 Pella maneira seguinte.
 1 qo 260\$—res que custão os Mastos
 1 qo 050\$—rs as vellas entrando as sobrecellentes.
 2 qos 100\$—rs 600 quintaes de Xarcea a 3500 o q.al
 450\$—rs Jornaes da enmasteação . . .
 630\$—rs As amarras (cables) para a viagem que peção 180q.aes
 a 3500 rs q.al
 120\$—rs o liame (ties) com que a náo aparelha.
 24\$—rs gavêas, váos, carlindas (sails, beams, socquets)
 280\$80 ancoras que peção a 18 quintaes e montão 108 q.tes
 a 2\$600 rs o q.al
 12\$ rs Enxios (cables) para as Ancoras
 190\$—rs Parquetes, Famborettes, pregadura, p.a fechar os
 mastros, amaras e camarotes
 40\$—rs Brenzos grandes e pequenos
 200\$—rs Enxarcea velha con q̄ aparelha, trinos ao goroupez
 bozos d'ancora, bozos d'artelharia cem quintaes
 60\$—rs Guirlandeas, chapas, barras dos pes, dos mastar-
 eaos, barras de estrinca pernas de cabuzes, canilhas
 das gaueas, carros de bomba, argolas dos lais das
 vergas vinte quintaes a 3\$ o q.al
 1 qo 687\$—rs Mantimentos para dez mezes de 125 pessoas
 do mar a 13\$500 pessoa
 4 qos 200\$—rs Mant.o para 6 mezes para 350 p.as darmas a 12\$
 pessoa
 850\$—rs soldos da gente do mar e bombard.os
 680\$—rs sobrecellentes e Xarcea e meudesas que leva o mestre
 320\$—rs 40 quintaes de poluora a 8\$ o q.al

A Náu usually carried 350 fighting-men in addition to its own crew and a paysheet of the latter is given in the note below. (1)

1 q.o 650\$ soldos de 350 p.as darmas a 3\$ huns por outros
cõ os criados del Rey.

Não entra aqui Arcabuzes, mosquetes, piques, meios piques, murrão, e outras miudesas, que pertencem ao meirinho que hé o q. o veador da fazenda ordena.

Nem Artelharia que ymporta muito que he a que querem meter na náu conforme aos pezos e caliuos que a grandeza da Náu requere.

(1) ms 265. Bibl. Nac. Livro de toda a fazenda, Figueiredo Falcão f. 204 v.^o

Faz de custo a gente do már de Hũa náu da Carreira da India de 123 pessoas de viagem e nauegação com 18 meses de soldo e do de mantimentos.

	Por esta maneira			Fauor na		
	Soldos	Liberdades	Lugares	Camarase Alboy	Cõsa da India	
740\$ O mestre	120\$	2—60\$	2 caxas	30\$ 500\$	30\$	
580\$ O Piloto	120\$	2—60\$	2 "	30\$ 340\$	30\$	
405\$ O contramestre	50\$	1—20\$	1 "	15\$ 300\$	20\$	
355\$ o guardião a 1400 p mez e 2800 de quintalada	28\$	1—12\$	1 "	15\$ 280\$	20\$	
396\$400 o sotapiloto a 1200 p. mez e 2800 de quinta- lada	24\$400	1—30\$	1 "	15\$ 280\$	20\$	
242\$800 o Estrinqueiro a 1\$ p. mez e 2800 de quintalada	20\$800	1—12\$	1 "	15\$ 180\$	15\$	
242\$800 outro estrinq. ^o o mesmo	20\$800	1—12\$	1 "	15\$ 180\$	15\$	
224\$800 o carpint. ^o de viagẽ a 1600 p. mez e 4\$ de quin- talada	32\$800	1—12\$	1 "	15\$ 150\$	15\$	
224\$800 o Calafate de viagem o mesmo	—	—	—	—	—	
129\$800 o Carpint. ^o de sobrecelente o m. mo tirado gazal- hado	32\$80	—	—	60\$	10\$	
122\$500 o Tanoeiro a 1200 p. mez e 3900 de quinta- lada	25\$500	1—12\$	—	—	—	

The stock of provisions taken on board often had to last for ten months, and the chief items were biscuit, meat, sardines, oil and dried fish. Vegetables were represented by lentils, grain, onions and garlic. There was a good supply of wine, vinegar and water. Delicacies were few, mainly some sugar and honey with almonds and dried prunes. Mustard and salt was always included. (1)

	Per esta maneira		Lugares	Fauor na	
	Soldos	Liberdades		Camarasa Alboy	Casa da India
260\$ o meirinho a 1\$					
p. mez	18\$	--	—	200\$	15\$
300\$ o despenheiro	18\$	--	—	240\$	—
3726\$—45 marinheiros					
a 1\$ p. mez e 280					
de quint.d val					
cada hũ 20.800 e					
todos	936\$	45—540\$	45—675\$	900\$	675\$
1979\$ 48 preunetes a					
a 666 p. mez e					
1800 de quint. ^a					
vale cada hũ					
13248 e todos	635\$	48à\$8\$384\$	48 fardos à	—	480\$
			10\$—480\$		
98\$120 4 pagens a 444					
p. mez e 1238 de					
quint.da a cada					
hũ 9238 e todos	36\$920	4 a 5300	4—20\$	—	20\$
		21\$200			
251\$200'o Condestable					
a 2400—	43\$200	1—18\$	1—15\$	160\$	15\$
880\$ 11 bombard.os a					
1 \$p. mez e alguns					
a mais e menos em					
todos a 18\$, cada					
hum e en todos	198\$	11a12\$-132\$	11a15\$-165\$	220\$	165\$

(1) Os mantimentos que são necessarios para a gente que ordinariamente leva hua não da India de 550 toneladas a ser 250 soldados

e 112 p.as de navegação:

Conforme a arqueação della:

P.a todos		P.a 250 soldados	P.a 112 p.as do navegação
Biscouto	1074 qes		
Vinhos	115 pipas	615	459
Carne	1086 arrobas	72	43
		750	336

The provisioning was often done by contract, and the dishonesty and greed of the contractors very soon gave occasion for the bitterest complaints. Food-stuffs of very inferior quality were sent on board and their rapid deterioration led to much illness and suffering among the unfortunate men who were compelled to live on them. Pedro de Bastrone Carco, writing to the king from Cochim in 1518, complained that his ships brought tailors as gunners and mule-drivers as sailors, while the powder

P. todos		P.a 250 soldados	P.a 112 p.as do navegação
Pescadas	150 duzias	104	46
Azeite	31 q.aes e meio	19 m. ^o	12
Vinagre	13 pipas	9	4
Agoa	244 „	168	76
Sobrec.te	69 „	48	21
Sal	2 m.os e m. ^o	10 m. ^o	1
Sardinha	130 arrob	80	50
Arroz	8 fexos	4	4
Vimes	24 lios	12	12
Grãos	14 alq.res	8	6
Amendoas	10 „	6	4
Ameixas	10 „	6	4
Lentilhas	10 „	6	4
Mostarda	2 „	1	1
Alhos	724 cabos	500	224
Sebolas	724 „	500	224
Açugre	8 arrob.	4	4
Mel	8 „	4	4

(Falcão, Livro de toda a fazenda, fs. 205 v.^o)

The food allowance for the sailors on Indian waters was as follows:

bizcoute:	1 arratel por dia a cada pessoa
carne:	dto. „
arroz:	2 medidas „
manteiga:	1 canada por mez
azeite de reino:	1 coartilho por mez
vinagre:	dto.
açucar:	1 arratel por mez
litões:	16 peças por mez.

To the mariners a cerra—fish or another of the same size each month.

A Goa cow is estimated at five arrobas, and a Cochim cow at four.

When only biscuit and rice is issued, each Portuguese is allowed half a cruzado a month for conduto. (Lembranças da India, f. 35)

was largely charcoal, the flour mixed with bran, the wheat rotten and the wine was merely vinegar. (1) The strong feeling on this point has been well expressed in the famous *Arte de furtar* (the Art of stealing), as follows: "The dear is cheap, and the cheap is dear . . . the first is illustrated by what we see daily in the provisioning of the Indian náus, and the galiões and navios which the King Our Lord sends to Brazil, Angola and other parts. They are furnished with putrid salt-meat, rotten stock-fish, weevilly biscuit, sour wine, rancid oil—for thus they find all this cheaper to buy; but in the result it turns out much dearer; because all the passengers fall sick, half of them die, the voyage miscarries, everything is lost—for they were supplied in the most niggardly fashion; and by sparing what is stolen, they made the cheap cost every-one dear."

Probably in the time of Albuquerque the medical needs of the men were better attended to than at a later date, when matters developed into a gross scandal. The Viceroy in 1551 had pointed out, as the result of his experience, that the heavy mortality on boardship was due to the want of ordinary medicines and proper nursing; almost all the men were sick, he wrote, but they were so well looked after that only three died; "from this I judge that the majority of deaths are due to lack of nursing and the deficient supply of necessary articles". (2)

The comments of the writer of the *Arte de furtar* are emphatic on the point. "Here I had the curiosity to ask what is the reason why no náu or galião of ours, whether sailing for trade or for war, ever carries an apothecary's store or ordinary remedies for tropical fevers or battle-wounds or the sickness of Loanda or for anything at all. It is one of two things, ignorance or

(1) Gaveta 15, Maç. 12, Doc. 13.—Torre do Tombo, Lisboa.

(2) Corp. Chron. P. II. M. 242. Doc. 44.—Torre do Tombo.

miserliness. I cannot believe it can be ignorance, for there is no one who does not know that people fall sick at sea more often and more gravely than on land. Then it must be miserliness—to avoid spending two or three thousand cruzados on what is essential for the health and life of passengers and soldiers, in the absence of which everything is lost . . .”

CARAVELA

As early as 1255 in the Foral of the Villa Nova de Gaya, which town was later included within Oporto, there appears the first reference to a Portuguese caravela: (1) **“Item mando quod piscatores dent maior-domo de unaquaque caravela unum piscem postquam fuerint tres pisces . . . et caravela extranea qui intraverit . . . cum mercaturis mando quod dent unum solidum de intrada . . .”*

This proves that at the time caravels were employed to convey merchandise as well as for fishing, and both by Portuguese and foreigners. The derivation of the name has been the subject of some speculation, not all of which is convincing. (2)

The word under the shape *caravo* was employed among the Arabs from very early times (3) as applied to the ships-boats which accompanied a *náo*, and were used for landing as well as for catching fish, and it is hardly open to doubt that the origin of the Portuguese name was Arab, which in turn was based on the Greek *‘Καραβός’*. Their use was soon extended for purposes of

(1) Publ. in Portug. Monum, leg. et cons.

See also: Pinho Leal, Portugal Antigo e Moderno, Art: Gaia.

(2) Jal, Arch. Navale and “Glossaire Nautique; Crescentio, Nautica Mediterranea; Du Cange, op. cit.”.

(3) See references in Eguilay y Yanguas, Glosario etimologico de las palabras españolas, portuguesas . . . de origem oriental, 1886, Granada,—Albuquerque employed them for sounding in the Red Sea, Correa, II. 346.

war and they were built in large numbers at Oporto, Lisbon and Setubal; under D. João II. they were described as the only lateen rigged vessels in Europe which made long voyages; (1) in proportion to their size they were heavily armed with Artillery after D. Manoel's invention.

In order to prevent their build being copied, their sale outside the country was forbidden by law. (2) Their rigging was always a matter of some difficulty; the main-sail was out of proportion to the mizzen and had to be balanced by a contra-mezena, (3) and this Portuguese invention proved so effective that caravellas were able to accompany Columbus and Vasco da Gama. As a rule their size was under two hundred tons. They were fitted with an *esporão*, and in fighting the archers on board were protected by a screen or *pavezadura*, while their shallowness of beam offered a smaller target to the enemy's fire; but the absence of the castello on the prow made them less effective for offensive purposes. (4) They usually carried oars in reserve in case of need, and it was found possible to accommodate 300 *besteiros* at a time on board. (5) They were 72 *palmas* de goa in the keel and 33 in width and the main-mast equalled the length of the keel in height. (6) It should be noted that the design of the caravella, and especially the rigging, was much altered in later times under the Spanish influence of the Philips, and they ceased

(1) Garcia de Rezende, op. cit. cap. 149.

(2) See Olivera, Doc. para a historia municipal de Lisboa, I. p. 218; also Lopez de Mendonça, op. cit. In 1520 Diogo Pires was prosecuted for selling one to a Castilian.

(3) See Escalante de Mendoza, who wrote in 1575 "Itinerario de la Navigacion de los Mares y tierras".

(4) Oliveira, op. cit.

(5) Goes, Chr. de D. Manuel, II. cap. 89 and IV. cap. 78.

(6) For details see: Lopes de Mendonça, O livro da fabrica das Naos de Oliveyra.

to be built to any extent from the middle of the 17th century.

Smaller vessels of the same type, called *Caravelões*, were used for conveying messages in case of urgency. (1)

URCA E CARRACA

Carracas can be discussed along with the *urcas*; both originated in North Europe, and as Oliveira has pointed out, the *nau* in Spain was a *carraca* in Italy and an *urca* in Germany. (2) They were chiefly used as cargo-boats (3) and D. João III. sent by them the timber needed for his fort of S. George of Mina in Africa. He was, however, anxious to preserve the belief that only Portuguese-built vessels could accomplish the journey round the African coast, and not *navios redondos* such as these; he accordingly purchased old vessels for the voyage and gave secret instructions that they should be destroyed before returning, and spread the report that ships of that build could not face the terrible storms encountered on that route. (4)

In the important compilation (5), which was prepared under Affonso X—the Sabio or the Learned—(1221-1284), stress is laid on the great size (*maior lote*) of the *carraca* at this period of small vessels, and 25 *urcas* varying from 300 to 900 tons accompanied the “Invincible Armada” in 1588.

(1) See “Orçamento do custo que pode fazer uma armada de doze velas do porte adiante declarado etc. . . . 2 *caravelões* para recados de 40 a 50 tonelladas . . .”

(2) Oliveira, *op. cit.*—See also Lopez de Mendonça, *op. cit.*—Old Portuguese writers always speak of “foreign owned *carracas*”.

(3) The Genoese so used them.

(4) Garcia de Rezende, *Chronica de D. João II.*

(5) *Las siete Partidas, cotejadas con varios codices antiguos por la real Academia de la historia.* Madrid, impr. real 1807. 3 vol. in —4°.

MISCELLANEOUS

There remain a few more sailing-vessels to be noticed including the barinel, barcha and barca. Of these the barinel was fitted with oars as well, (1) and drew more water than the barcha. This latter was described as "alto bordo" and usually came from Western Europe; there is much reference among the early chroniclers to the "barchas dos Ingreses". They were employed among the smaller vessels of the Portuguese fleet at Ceuta, (2) and it was in one of them, with its single mast and round sail, that Gil Eannes first rounded Cape Bojador. (3) The barcha bandada was specially strengthened for warfare. (4).

Barca was a common description of a skiff attached to a larger vessel in the same way as a lancha. (5)

The Taforea was purely of Asiatic origin. The vessel was in Portuguese times chiefly employed in the trade in horses between Ormuz and India, (6) which Albuquerque attempted to convert into a Portuguese monopoly. (7) It was used in war before Ormuz and Diu (8) and had a deck and a flat bottom without a keel.

INDIAN SHIPS

Various kinds of ships and boats of Eastern origin are frequently mentioned by Portuguese writers, and were in common use by their country-men in Asia.

(1) Cronica de D. Pedro de Menezes.—For difference between barcha and barca see Lopes de Mendonça, op. cit.

(2) Math. de Pisa, op. cit.

(3) João Braz de Oliveira, Os navios de Vasco da Gama.

(4) Cron. de D. Pedro de Menezes, I. cap. 59.
Fern. Lopes, Cron. de D. João I.

(5) Lopes de Mendonça, op. cit.

(6) Lopes de Mendonça, op. cit.

(7) Aff. de Albuquerque, Cartas, Various.

(8) Idem I, No. 10.

CATUR

The Catur was described by Alvaro Vaz as a "barco de remo" or rowing-boat. (1) In consequence of their lightness (2) and speed they were employed not only for conveying messages (3), but were much in favour among the corsairs for making sudden descents on the Coast. (4) Varthema, who was in the East from 1503—1508, speaks of the vessel in the following terms: "There is also another kind of vessel, which goes with a sail and oars, these are all made of one piece of the length of twelve or thirteen paces each. The opening is so narrow that one man cannot sit by the side of the other, but one is obliged to go before the other. They are sharp at both ends. These ships are called Chaturi, and go either with a sail or oars, more swiftly than any galley, fusta or brigantine". (5) They were made by the Portuguese themselves from their early years in India. (6)

PATAMAR

The Patamar was classed as a *barco pequeno* in the middle of the sixteenth century (7), though in one

(1) *Cartas de Alf. Albuquerque* I. p. 29. III, p. 259. In *India Orientalis* III, 78 they are described as "biremes", the word being probably employed in a vague manner to mean "boat".

(2) *Franc.º d. Andrade, Chron. de D. João III.*, I fl. 83 "catures, por serem muyto ligeyros".

(3) *Fern. Pinto, cap. 204.*—*Cartas de Dio a. D. Joam de Castro, Carta No. 86, fl. 105/106.* "os quaes (os crispãos) tevessem dous catures pera poderem correr a costa quallquer ora que fosse necessario".

(4) *Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, 348.

(5) *Lodovico di Varthema, transl. for the Hakluyt Society, London. 1863, p. 154.*

(6) *Correa, II. 820.* "catures nossos que tinham feitos . . . que eram feitos muy sotys pera muyto remarem . . ." This narrowness (sotys), with Varthema also mentions, is not easy to reconcile with the language used by S. Francisco Xavier, *Epist. l. I., 19.* "orans ut, navigium majus, quod vocant Caturem, armatum praesidio naviculis istorum inermibus mitteret . . ."

(7) *João de Lucena, III, cap. 7.*

Bernardo da Costa, Manual do Agricultor, II, 187.—But a writer

document at least there is a reference to grandes patamares being sent to Ceylon, to assist one of the rulers there, (1) and it was also employed as a despatchboat in cases of urgency. (2) The name is undoubtedly of South-Indian origin, as Garcia de Orta suggested in 1580.

TONEL

Toneis "in which this pepper of the serra is brought, are barcos shaped like a weaver's shuttle, very long, five or six baços(?) broad below, rounded on the sides and very much curved on the top, so that the opening is not more than three palms; within there are partitions which make them strong." Such is the description given by Correa (3) and this is corroborated by Antonio de Gouvea, who says that they are "different from what they use in Europe, because they are rowed from the poop and prow, which are alike in shape; in the middle they have a baléo, roofed over like a camara, in which travel the people very comfortably; they are employed for river-navigation, but not in the high sea." (4) They were large enough to carry a load of four hundred quintaes of pepper (5), and sometimes conveyed large bodies of fighting-men. (6) This type of vessel is in common use to-day.

of the 19th century says that patamars of 200 tons, with two masts and lateen sails and alike in prow and stern, used to visit Ceylon from Bombay. (Ceylon, by an Officer late of the Ceylon Rifles, 2Vls. London 1876, pp. 159/160.)

(1) Cartas de Goa a Dom João de Castro, Carta No. 50, fl. 103—105 v.^o

(2) Colecção de S. Lourenço, livr. III, fol. 350—352.

(3) Correa, Lendas I, p. 405.

(4) Fr. Ant.º de Gouvea, Jornada do Arcebispo. fl. 29.

(5) Cartas de Aff.º de Albuquerque III, 261.

(6) Goes, Cr. de D. Manuel I., cap. 43.

Colecção de S. Lourenço, livr. 3, fo 354 a 354 v.^o

CHAMPANA

Champanas, according to Duarte Barbosa, were employed among the Mohammedans of Malabar, probably the most enterprising sea-men of South-India, for the purposes of trade (1), and they carried from 25—30 men (2). They were also used as lighters in the same way as the batel (3) and reached forty tons burthen (4).

The name is of Chinese origin, and the vessels of that name which are still used in the Chinese waters, are long and narrow with a raised prow, with one cabin, which is entered by a very narrow door. (5)

The Champaneta, mentioned by Pe. Francisco de Sousa as "small and swift", was probably a small champana. (6).

CATAMARAM

Catamaram, a name formed from two Tamil words descriptive of what is probably the most primitive of sea-going vessels, namely, a few logs or maram, which are secured (kaṭṭi) together. Such vessels are found in various parts (7) of the world and a good description of

(1) Op. cit. p. 357.—Col. S. Lourenço l. III. fs. 350—352: "comprou hũa champana que mandou daquy com allgũs fretes . . ." and "diseram que havia mister duas outras champanas d'arroz pera a gente pobre."

(2) Castanheda, II. cap. 22.

(3) Manuel G. de Eredia, Declaração de Malaca fl. 6. "em suas embarcações ou champanas como bateis desembarcão dos iuncos e navios mantimentos pera se vender naquella praça . . ." Col. de S. Lourenço, III. fs. 354—354 v.^o

(4) J. Ribeiro, Fatalidade historica, I. cap. 3 "... que sam como summacas de quarenta toneladas . . ."

(5) P. G. Mesnier, Japão, p. 40. See also, Sonnerat, Voyages II. 33.

(6) Oriente Conquistado, I. I. 1.

(7) Its use in Brazil where it is called a "jangada" is discussed by Candido de Figueiredo.—cf. Alguns Documentos da Torre do Tombo p. 113.

one is given by Balbi. (1) They are in common use to-day for sea-fishing and also for smuggling, and by means of their large sail, they reach a surprising degree of speed. When not in use the fastenings are undone and the logs left to dry on the sea-sand. (2)

CATAPANEL

The Catapanel is a large boat, still used for fishing with nets, and is often mentioned in the Tombo of Ceylon (3). Diogo de Couto speaks of Catapunes, which he describes as "small boats, fastened one to the other, forming a great jangada, laden with men" (4). Boats so fastened together and carrying a platform can often be seen conveying people across rivers in Ceylon. Such Jangadas formed by fastening paráos together are mentioned by Albuquerque. (5) They sometimes carried as many as eight hundred men. (6) Linschoten mentions Jangadas made out of three or four planks or pieces of wreckage, used in distress at sea.

(1) Balbi, Viaggio fl. 82. "Alcune barche (in Negapatam) fatte a semiglianza delle nostro zattare con sette traui tondi legati insieme per ogn'una di dette barche, e di dette sette traui ne sono cinque per fondo, una piu lungo degli altri, il quale è di mezzo, che per prora fa uno sperone, e un altro per poppa, che stà sotto l'acqua, one stà a seruire un'huomo che tiene il timone, con un legno lungo e in cappello di detto legno sotto l'acqua e inchio dato un pezzo di tauola. Sono queste barche chiamate Gatameroni . . . Ma per tornare al proposito de sopra detti Catameroni, solcane quei mari e così uanno nauigando con sei, sette, otto marinari per ogni una di quella . . ."

(2) For further information see: P. Fernão de Queiroz, *Conquista de Ceylão*, p. 362, 517; Fryer, *East India I*, p. 72; *Lettres édi-fiantes* X, 50; Fra Paolino, *Viaggio*, p. 170; Heber, *Narrative* II, 205; Emerson Tennent, *Ceylon*, I, 142.

(3) *Bibl. Nac. de Lisboa*, Ms. See also: Diogo de Couto, VII, I. 3. — Queiroz, op. cit. p. 752. — Luiz de Menezes, *Historia do Portugal Restaurado*, II, 488.

(4) Diogo de Couto, X, x, 2.

(5) *Cartas* III, 220.

(6) Correa, II, 89. — See also Castanheda I, cap. 16; — Gões I, cap. 16.

PARÃO

"Some other small ships are called Parão", wrote Varthema, "and they are boats of ten paces each and they are all of one piece and go with oars made of cane, and the mast also is made of cane." (1) Such craft are still made from the great trunks of wild mango-trees. At times their size was considerable, (2) and they might have a cut-water (*esporão*) (3) or a curved beak. (4) They were large enough to carry bombardas (5) and on festive occasions were gaily decorated with coloured draperies. (6) They often accompanied large vessels as ships-boats (7).

PADA

Padas are the boats still most frequently employed in Ceylon for river-traffic. They are flat bottomed and draw very little water even under a great load, are roofed over with coconut-branches, and are either poled or rowed with four oars, a sail on a bamboo mast being used if there is a favourable wind. They are employed on the sea-coast for taking out the largest fishing-nets. (8)

MANCHUA

The *manchua* (9) was a barge, and every high official was provided with one. In 1635 the Vice-roy's *Manchua* of State was rowed by 32 *marinheiros* under two

(1) Varthema, *op. cit.*

(2) Correa, I. 18.—Col. de S. Lourenço, livr. 3, fs. 370/372 v.º
"coregy hũ parao que y estava gramde de novo . . ."

(3) De Couto X, II. 2.

(4) *Primor e Honra*, f. 720.

(5) *Cartas de Albuquerque III*, p. 259.—See also I., p. 13.

(6) *Comentarios de Aff Albuquerque I*, 31.

(7) Correa, *op. cit.* I. cap. VIII.

(8) See Queiroz, ps 277 and 847.—*Cartas de Dio a D. João de Castro*, nr. 87. (a. 1546).

(9) Ribeiro, II, in *Pieris' Transl.* p. 159.—Also *Pyrard*, II. 46.

Mocadões. (1) They were sometimes carried on board at sea as a ship's boat. (2)

JUNCO

Junco is the well-known Chinese ship, which is mentioned by Ben Batuta and is in common use to-day. (3) Castanheda's description of it is as follows: "These juncos . . . are very great and very different from all the ships in the world, because they are of the same shape at the prow and the poop, at each one of which it has a helm; it has only one mast, and a sail and this is of the rota of Bengala, which is fine cane, and it goes round like a spindle and therefore they do not turn like our ships." (4)

JALEA (CHEYLA)

"Geleas . . . que sam hūas embarçaomens de trinta remos muy ligeiras" (5), is the description of these boat about 1611. The name also appears as gelba and gelva or cheyla (6), but the accounts of it cannot all be reconciled. Sometimes they are said to be small (7) and sometimes great (8); or like caravelas (9) and again as fragile (10). They were used as cargo-boats (11) and also in the pearl-fishery and on the African coast. (12) João Ribeiro

(1) Pedro Barreto, op. cit.

(2) Historia Tragico-Maritima, Perda do Galeão grande de S. João, 1552.

(3) Ben Batuta, Viagem II, p. 252.

(4) Castanheda, II, cap. 112.—See also Barbosa, p. 365; Cartas de Albuquerque I, 15; Alguns documentos, p. 220.

(5) P.e Fernão Guerreiro, Relaçam anual, 98.

(6) Coll. S. Lourenço, l. III p. 356—357.

(7) Correa II, 125.

(8) Castanheda, III, 112.

(9) Comentarios, II, cap. 94.

(10) Correa, II, 345.

(11) Cron. de Tissuary.

(12) Cartas de Albuquerque, I, 224.

speaks of their use by the Portuguese mercenaries of the Great Mogul for predatory expeditions on the Indian rivers. (1)

SANGUICEL

Sanguiceis were grouped with navios and galiotas for purposes of war, and could carry sixty candis to the ninety and 150 candis of the other two. (2) They were chiefly made at the Baçaim Ribeira, and in 1634 each cost 650 patacas. They carried from 20 to 30 men, (3) and derive their name from Sanguiçar, a sea-port of Canara where they were originally built. (4)

BATEL

As early as 1513 there is mention of the batel in the Foral of Porto, where it is provided that "from smaller barcas or batels, which thus convey wine (there be paid) one quarta of wine according to the quarta of Porto."

The name survives in the East, where a batel is a small boat usually attached to a larger vessel. (5)

TONE, BALLAN ETC.

Boats of this name (tone) were made out of single logs and were sometimes called almadias. (6) They were popular for communication between neighbouring villages and would not hold more than three or four men. (7)

With them can be classed the ballam, commonly employed for fishing and crossing rivers, which is driven by short paddles. (8)

(1) Pieris' Transl. of Ribeiro, op. cit. p. 242.

(2) P. Barreto, op. cit.

(3) De Couto. X. v. 7.—Queiroz, p. 309.

(4) Cartas de Albuquerque I, p. 92.—See also Fr. João dos Santos, Ethiopia II, p. 334.

(5) Coll. S. Lourenço, l. III. fs. 354—355.

(6) Pyrard de Laval, Viagem I, 328.—

(7) Cadamosto, Viaggio I. cap. 20.—Barbosa, p. 240.—Balba 74 v.º.

(8) See Correa III, p. 627.—Fernão Pinto, cap. 15.—Castanheda VIII, cap. 58.—Barros II. IX. 3.—Eredia, f. 26.—Oriente Conquistado I. I. 2.

MIXCELLANEOUS

Other smaller boats are mentioned by Portuguese writers, such for instance as the *besteyro*, which seems to have been a small tone (1); the *candura* or *gundra* which, no doubt, derived its name from the *Gundra Raça* or *Maldiva*, (2) was constructed of palm-wood secured with wooden pegs, and used with palm-leaf-mats for sails. The *Pataxo* was a boat with two masts, often employed to convey messages where speed was of importance. (3)

Calamutes were boats common in Malabar. (4)

Cotacoulões were similar and much employed in war. Of them Diogo de Couto has recorded "these are they which cause greater harm among Portuguese ships than all other vessels." (5)

The *lança* was a ships-boat. (6)

The *galveta* was a small craft, distinguished for its high speed. (7)

There is also mention of *panguels* and *parangues* (8), regarding which details are wanting.

(1) Queiroz, *op. cit.* p. 540; 541; 702; 954.

(2) Correa, *op. cit.* I, 346;—*Comentarios de Albuquerque*, III, cap. 43.

(3) Boccardo's *Decada XIII da Historia da India*.

(4) *Castanheda VIII. cap. 140*.—Bikker, *Tratados*, IV, 108.

(5) De Couto X. IV. 11.—See also XII. v. 8 and Duarte Barbosa, p. 349.

(6) Ribeiro, *Pieris' Trans.* p. 203.

(7) Coll. S. Lourenço, I. III, fs. 387—391.

(8) Pieris, *The Portuguese Era*, vol. I. p. 460.

NOTE III

O PAY DOS CHRISTÃOS

After D. Affonso de Noronha's historic visit to Ceylon in 1550, he reported to the King that he had appointed there a Pay dos Christãos or Father of the Christians, who was instructed to look after the temporal interests of the converts. Such an officer was found in nearly all the Portuguese settlements, but the importance of his office and the part which he played in the social life of the people, do not appear to have been fully appreciated. The history of the Pay at Goa well illustrates how from small beginnings he rose to claim an authority which at times was a source of irritation to the Vice-roy himself. (1)

An alvará of 1532 embodied the King's decision "that there shall be a Padre Pay dos Christãos to search for and find out the Cathecumenos; and a Caza where he shall gather them . . . and the illegitimate children" (2) In 1567 another Alvará vested the right of nominating him in the Prelados. (3) In the same year there was held at Goa the First Provincial Council since the Council of Trent, and at this it was resolved that the Prelates should present the Pay to the Vice-roy, who could remove him from office if he failed to give satisfaction; it also recommended that a substantial orde-

(1) In 1595 P.e Alexandre Valignano wrote his "Instrucção do officio do pai de christãos", which could not be traced for the purposes of this Note.—The "Livro do Pay dos Christãos" preserved copies of the correspondence of the Pay and was kept at every Caza dos Cathecumenos.

(2) Livro do Pay, fol. 149.

(3) Alvará de D. Sebastião, Arch. P. O. Fasc. IV, p. 68.

nado should be given so as to attract suitable persons. (1)

The Pay's duties were embodied in the following

REGIMENTO FOR THE NEWLY CONVERTED AND
GENTILE ORPHANS

I. Every orphan gentile, even though married, who has not a lawful ascendant, may be apprehended to be made a Catholic up to the age of 14 years, with the declaration that up to 7 years he can be baptized immediately without waiting for his consent, and from that age till 14 he shall be catechised to receive baptism of his own free will; the Padre Pay dos Christãos is not empowered to make such arrest by himself or by his own order; when he has notice of any of such orphans he will be obliged immediately to communicate it to the Desembargador Juiz Conservador, that he may order such apprehension. And after that is done he shall be lodged in the Casa dos Cathecumenos, to be instructed in the faith and the question of his orphanhood verified before the said Desembargador Juiz Conservador. In the meantime he shall not be prohibited from receiving such communications from his kinsmen as may be lawful, nor from their bringing him food and whatever else is needed, the which shall be in the presence of the said Padre Pay or someone who has his confidence, so that in this manner there may be avoided any inconvenience which can follow therefrom.

II. Every gentile or any other person of whatsoever state or condition who in any manner conceals the said orphans or raises difficulties or renders assistance and help to their being concealed and that they should not be lodged in the Caza, is liable to the penalty of the loss

(1) Decreto^o nr. 30—1. O Concilio Provincial em Goa 1567.—Simão Botelho in his Tombo (p. 22) states that this was sixty milreis a year.

of his goods and to banishment for 5 years to the Rios of Senna or Timor, and herein the Promotor da Justiça will take action, since the said Padre Pay has not the authority.

III. (precis). A gentile persuading an orphan or any person to become a Moor, Jew, or member of any other Sect, or preventing his conversion, incurs the same penalty.

IV. (precis.) The said Juiz must carefully see to the collection of the orphans' property with an inventory, and do everything imposed on him by law to prevent such property being diverted, and also to be able more easily to obtain knowledge of who should be removed to the Caza; any interference with him entails similar punishment.

V. Every son and daughter of a gentile or any other infidel Vassal of this State who are converted to the Catholic faith, shall forthwith receive out of the property which their parents own at that time, their legitimate portion which is due to them of right, both that they may have wherewith to support themselves, as also that their parents may not, through dislike of their becoming Catholics, divert the same, so that at the time of the parent's death—which is when of right the said legitimate portions accrue to them—there may not be found any property from which they can obtain the same. If after the parents' death these converts wish to inherit with the other co-heirs, they may do so according to the Law of Collation.

VI. (precis). Since infidels cannot keep Catholics as slaves, such slaves on being converted immediately receive liberty. Foreign heathen bringing slaves who become converts, must sell them to a Catholic at a price fixed by the Juiz.

VII. (precis). All infidels who are converted are entitled to the honours, liberties and privileges granted in

favour of the newly converted, provided they are confirmed by the king.

VIII. deals with the appointment and authority of the Juiz, whose proceedings were private.

Goa, 12th December 1724.

Any Patents passed through the Chancelaria which referred either to the Pay or to the poor, were exempted from the usual charges. (1)

The Pay exercised a limited judicial authority among the new Christians (2) as a Juiz. He could deal with their civil matters up to fifty xerafins without right of appeal, and also with cases of assault where blood was not shed, the proceedings before him being oral. (3) He could order any meirinho to arrest any gentile. (4) When the Juiz dos orfãos was preparing the inventory of the estate of a gentile who had died childless, the Pay was entitled to be present. (5)

The conversion of children against their parents wish was forbidden by the King (6), but the prohibition was evaded by the Inquisitors (7) to such an extent that respectable heathen preferred even to give up their appointments under the King and live outside his jurisdiction in order to escape the difficulties which were created. The action of the Pay was similar to that of the Inquisitors; children would be seized on the plea that they were orphans, and every difficulty was placed in the way of their parents who attempted to establish the contrary before the Juiz. The scandal became so great that the matter was submitted to the King. It was

(1) Alvara of 1st July 1631.—See Arch. P. O. Fasc. 6.

(2) Arch. P. O. Fasc. V, p. 281.

(3) Provisão do Viceroy. Arch. P. O. Fasc. VI. p. 1084.

(4) Despacho 2. Julho 1623 A. P. O. Fasc. VI.

(5) A. P. O. Fasc. V. p. 995.

(6) Livro do Pay dos Christãos, fol. 147.

(7) Arch. P. O. Fasc. VI, p. 2.

pointed out that gentiles were not accepted as witnesses of the fact in dispute, while Christians through fear of the Pay would not come forward to give evidence. The King therefore ordered that only children brought with their parent's consent could be baptized by the Pay; that no gentile orphan could be removed by force, nor could the Pay insist on being allowed to enter a gentile's house. Further, the children whose orphanhood was in dispute had to be kept in the *Caza*, till the question was decided. (1)

But the zeal of the Pay was not easily kept in check. The Regimento of the King was flouted; and appeals by the aggrieved parents to the Juiz were met by interposing the authority of the Inquisition. (2) The Viceroy protested that children were being forcibly taken from their parents, who were then prevented from sending them food, so as to compel the children by hunger to turn Christian. (3) The Pay's forcible entries into private houses became such an intolerable nuisance, that the number of those who abandoned their homes soon interfered with the convenience of the public: "because all daily wants and mechanical employments are in the hands of these same gentiles, there is not any place where we can buy what we need, and the State has not a man to carry on its work", complained the Viceroy. "Trade is at a standstill; and the people are suffering notable harm." (4)

Originally the Vigarios, under an order of the *Ca-bido* or Chapter, were entrusted with the duty of preparing lists of orphans, but as this was not found sufficiently effective in 1609 the Inquisition directed the

(1) *Livr. dos Monções*, N.º 93, f. 377. *Arq. P. O. Fasc. VI*.—See also *Livro do Pay*, fol. 135.

(2) *Liv. dos Monções*, N. 86, f. 100.—*Arch. P. O. Fasc. VI*, p. 155.

(3) *ibidem*, Nr. 93 f. 377.

(4) See Viceroy's letter in *Arch. P. O. Fasc. VI*, p. 20—26.

Mocodãos to furnish such lists to the Pay within 6 days, with a statement of those who were concealing orphans (1) The Jesuits, from among whom the Pay at Goa was usually selected, were authorised to remove orphans under 14 years and to have tutors appointed over them, (2) and such tutors had always to be Christians. (3)

At the Caza the children were instructed in the Christian faith, (4) and before they could be baptized they had to be taken before the Juiz personally to express their consent. The Pay, however, complained that on the way they were often influenced by their kinsmen to refuse to be converted, and therefore he suggested that his own report of their willingness should be accepted as sufficient. (5) The King agreed to this and sent instructions accordingly, but the Viceroys demurred and pointed out what serious objections there were to the proposal and how greatly such a course would irritate the people. In fact in one instance at least there was rioting, and the house of the Pay was besieged by a mob. The King's orders were therefore not carried out. (6)

Each year the baptism of the Cathecumenos was the occasion for a great festival with dances and processions. These were viewed with very mixed feelings by the inhabitants. The less fanatical Portuguese declared, "all we who see this procession say from our experience that by that procession are prepared subjects for the processions of the *auto-da-fé*", implying that the converts would soon revert to heathenism and be condemned to be burned. The Indians on their part said that they did not wish to become Christians in order to

(1) See Arch. P. O. Fasc. 6 pag. 2 and Livro do Pay, p. 133.

(2) Provisão de Fernão Telles de Menezes, 10. July 1631. Arq. P. O. Fasc. VI.

(3) Arch. P. O. Fasc. 4. p. 68.

(4) Livro do Pay, fol. 142.—See also Arch. P. O. Fasc. III, p. 4.

(5) *ibidem*, fol. 135.

(6) Arch. P. O. Fasc. VI. p. 83.

avoid walking the streets begging for alms, hinting that the convert would be an outcast among his people, and would not be able to earn his food from them. (1) To meet this latter difficulty the Pay sometimes placed the converts in Portuguese households, but it was found that in a short time they were treated there as slaves and even sold. (2) To check this abuse the Pay was instructed to keep a book with all necessary details for tracing out any youths who had been placed with the Portuguese. (3)

In a country where the marriage of infants was a common practise, the interference of the Pay with such married orphans created much indignation. He protested that these heathen marriages were only a trick in order to assert that the orphans had ceased to be minors in consequence of marriage. This protest was upheld and the Pay authorized to take charge of such parties, so long as a boy was under fourteen and a girl under twelve. (4)

The presence of wealthy girls at the Caza gave rise to much trouble. It was the duty of the Pay to arrange suitable marriages for them, but often they were entrapped by Portuguese in the interest of impecunious friends to whom they were under obligations. (5) The poorer girls were sometimes sent from the Caza to Portuguese households, where however, they soon lost their good name, and the men who subsequently married them were looked upon with ridicule. (6) The sexual morality of the Portuguese was very deficient. Public brothels were a recognised institution, and in addition the "furtive prostitution" of even women of respectable social position

(1) Livro das Monções, nr. 81, fol. 178.

(2) Arch. P. O. Fasc. VI, p. 1300.

(3) Ibidem, Fasc. IV. p. 50.

(4) Provisão de D. Antonio de Noronha, 18.th Sept. 1566 in Arch. P. O. Fasc. VI.

(5) Ibidem, p. 1300.

(6) Livro das Monções, nr. 81. fol. 178.

was equally well recognised. As Cleinard remarked: "in this country it is rare to come across a young man who is lawfully married." (1)

The heathen marriage ceremonies were an abhorrence to the Pay, but his interference was strongly resented, and the people began to abandon their homes, with the result that the King rebuked the Pay for his "indiscreet zeal", (2) and allowed the observance of their ceremonies behind closed doors. (3) where a guard had to be placed to prevent the entry of heathen priests. (4) Marriages were also permitted in boats on the rivers which separated Portuguese territory from that of the Moors, (5) as well as on an island which the Christians did not frequent, so that the newly converted "may not see them and may not hanker after the rites and superstitions in which they were brought up." (6) If it was desired to have the ceremony in Goa, a fee of 32 \$ xerafims had to be paid. In 1718 the Island of Corjuem was specially set apart for these marriages. (7) "No Infidel", it was enacted, "may have more than one wife, in conformity with natural law." (8)

From time to time the building of Pagodas was forbidden, and in 1567 D. Sebastião decreed that "there may be no Pagoda—heathen preachers—jogues, magicians—no one may go to the Pagoda-festivals in the territory of neighbouring Lords on pilgrimage." (9)

Under the same Alvará an attempt was made to compel all heathen, except the butiqueiros and the

(1) Cerejeira, *O Renascimento em Portugal*.

(2) *Arq. P. O.* VI, 18/19.

(3) *Livro de alvaras reaes*, f. 76 v.º

(4) *A. P. O. Fasc. VI*, p. 1284.

(5) *L. d. Monções* nr. 93 f. 384 and nr. 46 f. 258.

(6) *A. P. O. Fasc. VI*, p. 242.

(7) *L. d. Monções* nr. 83 f. 268.

(8) *A. P. O. Fasc. IV*, p. 68.

(9) *A. P. O. ibidem*.

fizicos (pharmacists and doctors), to attend the preaching of the Gospels for one hour each Sunday afternoon. Elaborate lists of those liable were ordered, and compliance was to be enforced by fines, increasing with the repetition of the offence. The resistance to the execution of these orders was great and was only equalled by the zeal of the Pay in trying to enforce them till the Viceroy protested against his misguided fervour, as the people were fleeing from their homes. (1)

The Pay reported that many Indian traders passed off as inhabitants of Goa in order to benefit by the trade privileges given to the latter, but when at their deaths the Pay appeared to exercise his authority, the truth was then found out and he could do nothing; this, he complained, was "a notable prejudice to Christianity." The King, therefore, ordered, that no heathen should be permitted to share in such privileges unless his name was first registered in a book kept by the Pay "as an inhabitant and native of this city and declared to be a Vassal of His Majesty." (2)

Certain offices were conferred exclusively on the natives of the country, such as those of interpreter and Naique for collecting fines, (3) and in filling them preference was given to converts, provided they had the commendation of the Pay. (4)

There was a traffic at Macao in women and girls who entered into agreements to serve for definite periods in India or in Portugal. Naturally enough the practice was frequently abused, and these unfortunate found themselves in a condition of virtual slavery. The Pay was therefore directed to supervise this traffic and to look

(1) Livr. d. Monções, nr. 81, f. 202.

(2) L. d. Monções, nr. 93, fol. 395 v.º

(3) Lv. d. Monções, nr. 63 f. 296.

(4) Livr. do Pay, f. 133 v.—Arch. P. O. VI, p. 17.—See also Alvará of 15th II. 1619. Arch. P. O. VI.

after their interests (1). Moors were forbidden to have Kaffir slaves, but they could retain them for a limited period if they had them entered in a register kept by the Pay, on condition of their selling them to Christians at its expiry. (2)

Slaves from Africa first appeared in Portugal in 1441, when Antonio Gonçalves went to Guiné. (3) They were officially regarded as goods and were dealt with in the Casa da India, where in 1486 a separate department, the Casa dos Escravos, under its own Almojarife, was opened. The chief sources of supply were Arguim, Ialofo, Mina, Benin and the Congo, while Moors were brought from Ceuta, and under D. Manoel the average price of a slave was 4—5 milreis. On each slave an import duty was levied. The traffic soon attained enormous proportions. Garcia de Rezende records, "we see such large numbers of slaves thrown into the kingdom; they increase, but the natives go away, and the result will be, to my thinking, that they will be more in number than we are." (4) The Dutch Humanist Nicolaus Cleinard, who founded Latin schools in Portugal, protested in 1535, "the slaves are skipping in every direction . . . Portugal is filled to belching with this race of people . . ." He pointed out that they were bred for the market like pigeons, and that immorality was encouraged among slave girls by their masters, because at law "the fruit follows the status of the womb." (5)

The dead bodies of slaves were usually cast away on the seashore and similar places. This gave rise to pestilences, till D. Manoel ordered a Poço or pit to be

(1) Livro do Pay, fol. 138 v.º

(2) Livro do Serviço f. 100.

(3) Azurara, Cron. do descobrimento de Guiné, cap. X.

(4) Rezende, Miscellanea.

(5) M. Gons. Cerejeira, O Renascimento em Portugal.—Clenardo, Coimbra 1918, tom. II p. 14/15 App.

opened at the site of the present Rua do Poço dos Negros in Lisbon, into which the corpses were thrown. (1)

In India also the Portuguese had large numbers of slaves. In 1510 a male could be bought for five cruzados and a woman for 12 xerafins. The men were largely employed at agricultural work, as rowers in the galés and in the powder-factories. Anyone wishing to marry a female slave was allowed to purchase her freedom.

Slaves were the objects of sale and inheritance like any other property; they were under many disabilities; they could not buy or sell on their own account, nor be employed to assist judicial officers, as they could not lay hands on a free man; they were forbidden to live in their own houses, and could not appear in the streets at night, unless they wore an iron ring on their foot. (2)

Needless to say the slaves were frequently ill treated by their masters, and the Pay was expected to interfere on their behalf; his authority in the matter was limited and was not always very effective.

The prisons and stocks were often full of people who languished there through not having sufficient influence to have their cases disposed of, and the Pay had to watch over them and see that there was a monthly inspection for the relief of such people; but in many instances the prisoners died before being discharged.

On his visits the Pay would take with him whatever he could obtain by way of alms, to help the pauper prisoners. He acted as the advocate of Christian prisoners and pleaded for their release in deserving cases. (3) He insisted on being present, when prisoners were judicially tortured; the Vice-roy objected to this, but the King upheld the action of the Pay, because it was in accordance

(1) Oliveyra, Elementos para a historia do municipio de Lisboa.

(2) See Fortunato de Almeida, Historia de Portugal III, and the authorities mentioned there.

(3) Pyrdard, II, p. 20.

with "inveterate custom", that he and an officer of the Misericórdia should be present to encourage and, if necessary, confess the prisoner. (1)

All begging in public was forbidden except with a written authority from the Pay, which served as a certificate of identity; anyone infringing this rule was liable to be flogged for a first offence, and for a second to be sent, if a man to the galés, and if a woman to the powder-factory. (2)

Like most religious institutions the object with which this office was created was highly benevolent and at the start the Pay was a source of help and consolation not only to the converts, but to the heathen as well. With the growth of power there came that decadence which adversely affected most Portuguese institutions; the priest no longer confined himself to the practise of those Christian virtues and religious duties which he professed; charity and sympathy with his neighbour gave way to a craving for temporal power. On every excuse the priest interfered with the administration of the State; not families alone, but whole communities and districts suffered from his misguided zeal and domineering spirit, till the King's Fazenda itself felt the consequences. The "Service of God and the King" was forgotten in the anxieties of the meddlesome politician, and, ably supported by the malignant influence of the "Holy Inquisition", he did as much as any one else to destroy the power of his country in the East.

(1) Livr. das Monções, nr. 62, f. 72.

(2) Livr. do Pay, f. 17 v.º

NOTE IV. TITULOS

VASALLO

An early definition of this term is contained in the *lei das Partidas* of D. Affonso o Sabio: "a vassal is he who receives honour or distinction from his Senhor, such as the rank of cavalleiro, lands, or money, for eminent services which he has to render." (1) It is this grant of an honour which distinguished the *vasallo* from the *naturaes* who formed the bulk of the King's *subditos* or subjects. (2)

Vasallos in the middle-ages were divided into three classes: to the first belonged the *Senhores da terra* and *Alcaides-mores*.

The second consisted of the *Fidalgos acontiadados*, and the third of wealthy *plebeians*.

The members of the first group were generally great territorial magnates with their own subjects or *vasallos dos senhores* and their own jurisdiction. Till the 15th century the general name of such magnates was *Ricos-homens* (3) and they filled the chief appointments in the country. The distinguishing mark of a *rico-homen* was a *pendão* or banner which he received on attaining the proper age. "It conferred on him power to command and govern people in war. On the *pendão* were painted some *caldeiras* (pots), by which was manifested his ability to take people to war and to maintain them." (4) He could not be compelled to serve in war except in attendance on the King himself, and

(1) *Partidas* 4. tit. 25 . I.

(2) *Ibidem* l II.

(3) Their wives were *ricas-donas*.

(4) *Severim de Faria, Noticias de Portugal, Dial. III.*

then he had to be accompanied by his own vassals, and had authority to create knights. The Ricos-homens belonged to the King's Council, and after D. Duarte's reform in 1433 an Infante, a Conde and a bishop had always to be at Court to advise the King. (1) By the end of the 15th century the title Conselheiro was to a large degree honorific, and under D. Manoel. (2) there were 400 who were so described.

Those who actually served on the Council received *moradias* or allowances to cover the expenses of their stay in the Capital.

The residences of these magnates within their territories were called *solares* and were themselves of three kinds:

- conhecido, when the noble birth of the owners' ancestors was generally admitted;
- com jurisdição, when the owner had been created by royal grant, and
- grande, when occupied by Dukes and other nobles down to Barons. (3)

In addition to the personal jurisdiction which these *Senhores* exercised they appointed their own judges of all kinds, notaries, and subordinate legal officers. This authority was often a subject of dispute between King and *Vasallo*, till D. Affonso V. laid down definitely the limits thereof. (4) After the time of D. Manoel the term *rico-homem*, which had come to have the same significance as *fidalgo*, gradually went out of use.

To this group belonged also the *alcaides-móres*, who were the officers in command of the frontier castles and forts; they were expected to maintain their charges

(1) Pina, *Cron. de D. Duarte*, cap. VII.

(2) *Livro das Moradias da Casa de El-Rey D. Manoel* in *Prov. da Hist. Geneal.* t. II. p. 352 ff.

(3) Faria *op. cit.*

(4) *Orden. Affons.* l. II. tit. XI.

in efficient condition for war, and were entitled to receive various fines and dues including a levy on ships in the case of forts by the seacoast.

Fidalgos were *filhos d'algo*—the sons of a Somebody, and formed the knightly class. On the birth of a male in such a family, the child received a *carta da contia* from the *escrivão dos maravedis*, which entitled him yearly to a certain sum, originally paid in *maravedis*, with which to furnish himself with a horse and the accoutrement of a knight. (1) Later the *contia* was only granted to the eldest son, but the expense to the King's treasury was still found to be so great, that D. João I. disallowed the payment till the Fidalgo was of fit age to bear arms. Every fidalgo *acontiado* had to bring with him to the King's wars a certain number of *cavaleiros* or horsemen and *peões* or footmen.

Ancestry was a matter of much pride; as a consequence of the dissensions regarding the throne after D. Fernando's death, many of the nobility attached themselves to Castile, while new men received or usurped their lands and titles. In a short time it became difficult to say whether the bearer of a name represented the original family or not, and to obviate this difficulty D. João II. and after him D. Manoel instituted a College of Heralds, to hold visitations and prepare correct books of arms. There were three kings of arms, who were named after Portugal, Algarve and India. On their report D. Manoel decreed who were to be considered members of the true nobility of Portugal, and ordered their heraldic devises to be painted on the ceiling of the *Sala das Brazões* at Cintra, encircling the royal arms. (2)

The third group mentioned above consisted of all who were thought sufficiently wealthy to provide them-

(1) *Cronica de D. Pedro*, cap. 10.

(2) *Goes, Cr. de D. Manoel*, IV, cap. 80.

selves with their own arms, when called upon to fight for the king.

A roll was kept of the *vasallos d'El Rei*, and in the 15th century among other privileges they were not liable to pay duty on the purchase of arms, nor could they be compelled to serve as tutors for orphans or in any similar municipal capacity, or to provide food and lodging for the Court when travelling.

With the discovery of the sea-route to the East and the adoption of the new policy of conquest, the term *Vasallo d'El Rei* received an extended meaning. Asiatic potentates were offered the help of Portugal against all enemies on condition of their giving certain trade privileges and paying a small annual tribute or *pareas*. All who agreed to these terms were regarded as *Vasallos d'El Rei*, and the arrangement was so popular among the petty kings that there were frequent instances of their applying to be received in that capacity. (1)

The description *Vasallo* finally disappeared in 1820 and was replaced by *subdito*.

There were five grades of nobility: *Vasallos*, who had their horse; *Escudeiros* or squires; *Cavaleiros* or knights; *Fidalgos de Cotta de armas*, men of high birth entitled to the heraldic insignia of nobility; and the highest, *Fidalgos* who were privileged to sit in the royal presence and had a *foro* at the Casa or Palace. (2)

In the 15th century the order of precedence was: Condes, Archbishops, Bishops, the *Mestres* of the three Military Orders—Aviz, Christo and Santiago—, the Prior of the King's Hospital, *Ricos-homens*, the Abbot of Alcobaça, the Prior of S. Cruz de Coimbra, the Com-

(1) See Documents 40 and 47. ante.

(2) *Ordenaç.* l. 5.; tit. I. 39.

See Severim de Faria, *Noticias de Portugal*, Dial. III.

mendadores-mores, the Abbot of S. Bento, Escudeiros and Cavaleiros who were Fidalgos, Cavaleiros who were not Fidalgos, and the third class of Vasallos. (1)

DOM

The title Dom, from the Latin dominus, was first applied to God, and then in turn to the Pope and the bishops, till finally it was conferred on the laity, the first to receive it being Dom Pelayo, when chosen King of the Asturias in the eighth century. The distinction was jealously guarded in the various branches of his family of which the female members were styled Donas, till gradually the use of it was extended to Prelates, Ricos-homens and Cavalleiros.

Like many other royal customs the title was adopted in Portugal from Castella and the grant of it was among the highest rewards which the King could confer; no royal bastard received the title till Dom João Mestre d'Aviz, who later became King. The liberality, however, with which this reward was bestowed by D. Affonso V. detracted very much from its value, and roused the satire of Garcia de Rezende: "To encourage valour and to reward service, Kings gave to some the Dom and to others fidalguia; to-day we need no kings; whoever likes now assumes the Dom or noble arms, if he has them not; nay, more he gives the Dom to his wife." (2)

D. João II., however, took steps to right matters and the title once again resumed its high position till, when Vasco da Gama returned from his discoveries, the title of Dom was the chief and most appreciated reward which was conferred on him.

But under the Philips its use was again greatly extended, and D. José in the 18th century conferred it on even the

(1) Fortunato de Almeida, op. cit. A. III.

(2) G. d. Rezende, Miscelanea.

wives of wealthy tradesmen. Certain religious orders like the Carthusians and the Theatines employed the title as do all Portuguese bishops to-day.

Eastern princes who agreed to become *Vasallos d'El Rei* were frequently baptised as well, and in such cases the title of *Dom* was conferred on them with the Portuguese personal name which they adopted. In Ceylon this distinction appears to have been reserved for royal personages and the highest nobility. (1)

In the 15th century the title by which the King should be addressed was not clearly settled, for, while he spoke of himself at the Cortes of Santarem in 1451 as "*Nossa Alteza*", four years later the Cortes at Lisbon addressed him indifferently as *Vossa Merce*, *Vossa Alteza*, *Senhor*, *Vossa Real Magestade* and *Vossa Senhoria*. (2)

By the middle of the 16th century it was usual to address the Kings of Portugal as *Vossa Alteza*, *muy alto e muy poderoso*. (3) The Spanish Court with its rigid etiquette put an end to any confusion by an Alvará, dated Lisbon, 16th Sept. 1597, (4) of which the relevant portions are as follows:

"I command that at the top of letters or papers which are written to me, should be placed, '*Senhor*' without anything else, and at the end '*God protect the Catholic Person of Your Majesty*', and in the superscription should be '*To the King Our Senhor*'. Dukes, Marquises and their eldest sons only can write in the superscription '*To the King My Senhor*': all other children of Dukes,

(1) As in the case of D. Constantino Barreto, *sobrinho* of King Dharmapala—see Doc. Rem. l. 17. fol. 7 v. Goa, 15th, March, 1623. and *ibid.* l. 16, f. 69. Lisboa, 25. II. 1622.—Also D. Jorge of Baçaim, *ibidem* l. 30. f. 258 v.º Goa, 1. I. 1633.

(2) Fort.º de Almeida, *op. cit.* Vol. III.

(3) See also Carta de Alvaro Mendes, 20. II. 1536, in Luis de Sousa, *Annaes de D. João III.*

(4) Chancelaria de D. Phil. I, l. 1, f. 149.

other than the eldest who are related to us according to the Canon Law, can employ the same superscription; but if not so related, or if they are not within the said degree, they may not employ the same, nor may any other person of whatever quality, dignity or condition he may be.

To the Princes who are the heirs and successors of these Kingdoms the same style must be used, changing "Majesty" into "Highness", and at the end of the letter should be written "God protect Your Highness".

The same style and order shall be observed with the Queens of these Kingdoms as with the Kings; and with the Princesses the same as has been mentioned for the Princes.

The Infantes of both sexes must only be addressed as "Highness", and at the top of a letter to them should be written "Senhor" and at the end "God protect Your Highness", and in the Superscription "To the Senhor or Senhora Infante N."; but when it is written or spoken absolutely, "His Highness" must be attributed to the Prince and Successor of these Kingdoms alone.

The sons and brothers-in-law of the Kings of these Kingdoms and their daughters- and sisters-in-law must be treated in the same way as the Infantes, and no other person can be addressed or written to as 'Alteza'.

Children of Infantes were "Senhor Dom" or "Senhora Dona" and were addressed as "Excelencia", which last could not be employed for any others who had not received a special grant. The Archbishop of Braga as Primate was "Senhoria Reverendissima", while the other Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes and their sons who had the right of being covered, the Marquises, Condes and the Prior de Crato and no one else were Senhoria.

All Vice-roys and governors, except those related to the King, received the same title during their period of

office, as did also some of the highest public officers in Portugal in all matters affecting their duties.

Ambassadors who were entitled to sit in the Kings's Chapel, and all who had the privilege of remaining covered, were similarly addressed.

Noblemen from Dukes down to Barons, when attaching their "sinal" to documents, had to state the title which they held and the name of the place from which they obtained it. There were also minute directions regarding the form to be employed in the correspondence of private parties.

Any infringement of these regulations was punishable according to the condition of the individual, in varying degrees. Fidalgos might be fined up to 20 Milreis, and humbler people fined 20 Cruzados and even banished to Africa for a year.

GLOSSARY

Adiguar, from the Sanskrit Adhikarin, one possessing authority.

The word is found in Cholian inscriptions of the 10th century and in Ceylon inscriptions of the 14th, as well as in the letters of St. Francis Xavier. In Ceylon the title was applied to various grades of officials, from the King's two Chief Ministers down to petty headmen.

Alçada, the jurisdiction exercised by a judicial officer.

Alcaide-mór, a word of Arab origin, at first applied to the chief officer in charge of a castello on the frontier. Under Affonso V. they had to be fidalgos on both the father's and the mother's side and had to see that their charges were maintained in efficient order for war. When the castel was on the coast they could demand from all barcos and navios a duty of two soldos the tonel; in addition certain fines were their perquisite.—When, as was often the case, a feitoria outside Portugal was fortified and occupied by soldiers, the feitor was usually promoted to be Alcaide-mór.—It should be noted that an alcaide is a petty officer of justice.

Alifante, apparently a kind of cannon.

Aljofre. Tome Pyres writing from Cochim on the 27th January 1516 about pearls has the following: "the Aljoufar is found in these parts in Dalac, Baharem, Ceylão and Hainam . . . in Ceylão it is obtained from Nigombo as far as the Baixos . . . the most white is from China, the best from Ceylão, the most round from Baharem . . ."—Aljofre are the smaller pearls as distinguished from the perolas which are valued individually.

Almadia, see Note II.

Almoxarife, a high title under the Arabs and later applied to the Portuguese official who saw to the proper recovery of various duties payable to the King.

Alvará, from the Arab al barah, Letters Patent issued by royal authority.

Areca, the nut of the areca-palm, greatly in demand as a stimulant for chewing with the leaf of the Betel-vine, and also for dyeing.

Arraial, a military camp.

Auto (acto), the formal record of legal and other similar proceedings.

Baixos, the shallow waters, where the Ceylon Pearl-fishery is held, near Manar.

Bandeira, see Mesteres and Note I.

Ba ar, according to Duarte Barbosa, was 4 quintaes according to the old weight of Portugal which seems to have amounted to $3\frac{1}{2}$ quintaes of the new weight. According to Antonio Nunes in 1554 a baar in Ceylon = 3 quintaes new weight = 20 faracolas = 176.25 kg.

Barrete, a soft, four-cornered hat.

Batel, see Note II.

Bombarda, see Note I.

Cabaya, a long closely-buttoned coat, reaching nearly to the knees, of eastern origin and still employed in the East.

Cabido, the body of Conegos or Canons who were entrusted with the administration of a cathedral or collegiada, in the same way as the Chapter of an English cathedral.—The name was also applied to similar bodies who supervised the religious orders.

Calanja = 20 mangelins = 4.38 grams.

Calazes. It is suggested that this is the word *calaça*, a side of pork. (See Viterbo, *Elucidario* and *Bluteau*.)

Camareiro-mór, in Portugal a high officer of the royal household, apparently combining the duties of Lord Chamberlain and Lord of the Bed-Chamber with the control of the officers of the royal wardrobe, the pages and other intimate attendants.—On State occasions he bore the king's train and stood behind the throne.

Campo, plain or field of battle.

Caravella, see Note II.

Carreira, the route followed by the King's ship which was sent yearly for a definite article of commerce to a definite port of the Conquista. The command of the *Nao da Carreira* was very profitable and conferred as a reward for special services.

Carta, a royal decree; a letter on paper as distinguished from one on ôlá.

Casal, a country-house with its attached land, but less important than a quinta.

Catamaram, see Note II.

Cature, see Note II.

Cavalleiro, see Note I.

Cazado, see Note I.

Chacrão, a coin of South-India, where the name is still current. Its value is uncertain, being in some cases reckoned at 4/9 of a pagoda.

Champana, see Note II.

Chancellaria, the Department where important documents receive the seal (*sello* or *chancela*) and officers take their oaths before assuming duties.

Changatar, a Buddhist priest, the Priesthood being known as the *Maha Sanghā*.

Cheyla, see Note II.

Comedia, a pension or a *foro* given by the King to soldiers and others as a reward for services; in Ceylon according to the Sinhalese custom, this usually consisted of the grant of a village.

Comitre, see Note II.

Confraria, see under *Mester* and Note I.

Conto, as applied to money, a million reis.

Corla, a territorial division among the Sinhalese, like an English County.

Cruzado, this coin was originally struck by D. Affonso V. in contemplation of the crusade proclaimed in 1453, and as it contained two grains more of precious metal, but was of the same face-value as the ducats then in circulation, it was expected that it would be current throughout the world. The cruzados struck by Albuquerque in 1510 were worth 420 reis and even to-day in Portugal the sum of 400 reis is commonly spoken of as a cruzado.

Direitos, payments to which the King was entitled, as customs duty and under various heads of the land-tenure in Ceylon.

Ducados, the English word ducat.

Emfiteuta, a tenant under a foro or rent with the "jus dominii utilis".

Escrivão, see under feitor.

Espingardeiro, see Note I.

Estancia, soldiers quarters, or a small fortification.

Esteiro, a back-water or arm of a river.

Fanam, in 1554 a coin of very base gold and worth 10 reis each.
450 fanams = 1 gold Português.

Fazenda, the King's treasury; private property; a farm, or clothing material.

Feitor, the permanent agent of the King in the chief centres of the trade outside Portugal. He was in charge of the business-establishment or feitoria, and had attached to him an *escrivão* or clerk and one or two *officiaes*.

Fidalgo, see Note IV.

Fôro, the rent paid by the tenant who enjoys the "dominium utile", to the owner of the land.

Frade, Member of a religious order

Fusta, see Note II

Galião, see Note II

Guardião, as employed in these documents, the head of the Franciscans in Ceylon, being himself subject to the Custodio at Goa

Guarda-mór, in these documents the officer commanding the King's Portuguese Guard

Infante, see Note III

Jogue, a Hindoo religious devotee

Lacre, lacquer

Ladrão, a brigand

Lascarim, a word of Persian origin, applied by the Portuguese generally to their Asiatic troops

Lastro, connected with the German Last, originally applied to ship's ballast and later the weight of two tons

Licenciado, one who had been licensed to receive the degree of Doctor of a University; especially in the faculty of Law.

Lugares, inhabited portions of the country

Mantimento, food, or money allowance in lieu thereof.

Meirinho, a word of Gothic origin through the Latin *maiorinus*, applied to public officers with administrative and judicial power over a small district. Like *Alcaides* they could issue summons, order arrest and inflict fines. They were expected to see that the laws were obeyed by all the King's subjects and were not infringed upon by the great. Their functions and rights were altered from time to time (See, *Ordenações* of D. Diniz e Ord. Filip. liv. I. tit. 5 4. § 23.)

For the *meirinho* in a *galé* see Note II.

Mercê, from the Latin *merces*, was either the pay of a mercenary or the reward given by the King for services rendered to him.—For the word as an honorific see Note IV.

Mesteres. This was the name of the guilds in Portugal, the members of which were called *mesterais*. In 1383 there were 12 such in Lisbon and in that year they were privileged to elect two men to represent each mester, with the right to take part at the meetings of the *Camara*. These deputies constituted the *Casa dos vinte e quatro* and were expected to support the King's policy against all opponents. Unless specially exempted the members of each mester had to live in a *rua* or street allotted to his guild.—These corporations were both professional and religious, the latter aspect being represented in their further name of *confrarias* or *irmandades* (brotherhoods). Each had its patron Saint whose figure was shown on their flags or *bandeiras*, which were often of silk embroidered with gold. From these flags they received also the name *bandeiras*, as it was under them that they proceeded to war whenever need arose.—Each *confraria* had its own chapel in a church, and selected the *Maiordomos* who supervised the management of all clerical and civic functions.—Each mester had also its own *regimento* or constitution. In 1438 a change was introduced by which four elected representatives of the *Casa dos 24* took part in the deliberations of the *Camara*, where their chief duty was to look after the interests of the guilds. Similar institutions with analogous rights and duties came into existence in all the chief settlements abroad. (See further *Fernão Lopes*, *Chron. de D. João I*, l. I. cap. 27.—*Oliveira*, *Elementos para a historia do municipio de Lisboa*.)

Mestiço, the off-spring of a Portuguese and an Asiatic or other non-European race.

Mestre, from the German *Meister*, he who knows and teaches: whether a handicraft or some intellectual pursuit: The word was used at the Universities and among Theologians in the latter sense. A *padre Mestre* was a Father Confessor.

Moço, like *mancebo*, was applied to all males under thirty years, as well as to personal servants.

Mofino, a miserable wretch.

Monção, from the Arabic *mansam*. This name is given to the half-yearly winds of the Indian Ocean by which the pearl-fishery has to be regulated.

Nau, see Note II.

Naveta, see Note II.

Navio, see Note II.

Ola, a palm leaf prepared for writing upon with a style.

Ordenado, the salary of a public servant.

Ouvidor, a high judicial officer.

Paço (passo), the Kings palace; a mountain pass; a ford.

Pada, see Note II.

Pai dos Christaos, see Note III.

Pam, a gold coin of Chinese origin, worth 1, 2, 10 and 20 cruzados, or of silver of 1 up 500 cruzados.

Pandar, Sinhalese bandar, a princely title.

Pandita, a scholar, equivalent to a Doctor of a European University.

Pardao, the Sanskrit *pratap*, a gold coin of West-India, worth 370 reis. Afterwards a Portuguese silver coin of degenerating value.

Pareas, tribute, payment to an Over-lord to secure his protection.

Pariah, an out-cast.

Patamar, see Note II.

Patamgati, the headman among the fishers.

Perro, a socially despised individual like a pariah.

Pescaria, the Pearl-fishery off the Ceylon and South-Indian Coasts.

Principe, see Note IV.

Provedor, the officer responsible for the supervision of various semi-public departments such as dealt with Testaments, Orphans, Charitable Institutions and Municipal Funds.

Quinta, similar too, but larger than a *casal*.

Regimento, a statement of official instructions for the guidance of one in authority.

Renda, rent.

Rumes, Turks.

Senhor, *Senhoria*, see Note IV.

Serra (cerra), a mountain; a range of mountains; a plateau.

Soldo, the salary of a soldier in money.

Solteiro, see Note I.

Tanga, an Indian coin, worth 60 reis.

Tone, see Note II.

Topaz, a christian *mestiço*, often employed as an interpreter; a precious stone.

Tostão, a coin either of gold or silver and worth 1200 or 100 reis respectively, and deriving its name from the king's head or testa stamped on the obverse. It was originally issued by Louis XII. of France in 1513, and was copied by D. Manoel I. Even to-day the sum of 100 reis is commonly spoken of as a *tostão*.

Tranqueira, a military stockade.

Turibulo, an incense-burner.

Vassalo, see Note IV.

Vedor da fazenda. This office appears in existence as early as 1372, when the Vedor was "the supervisor of the royal patrimony and the public Fazenda", having under him Almoxarifes, contadores and other similar officers.—He grew to be the Controller of the treasury whose duty it was to see that all the royal revenue was properly collected, that no unnecessary expenditure was incurred, and that all laws affecting the revenue were observed. Such officers were from time to time appointed to all the Conquistas, and were independent of the Civil or Military Governors.

Xerafim, originally the Arabic coin ashrafi, adopted by the Portuguese for a silver coin of from 300 to 360 reis in value.

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ERRATA

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"	12	"	36	"	Mór
"	16	"	2	"	Gonçalo
"	18	"	22	"	Sintra
"	20	"	27	"	Alvarás
"	21	"	1	"	Mórs
"	57	"	21	"	Moçambique
"	100	"	8	"	Monçan
"	111	"	11	"	Mórs
"	120	"	14	"	Gomçalves
"	127	"	23	"	Maçulepatão
"	137	"	36	"	Gomçalves
"	157	"	22	"	Mistiço, a kinsman
"	192	"	6	"	Gonçalez
"	209	"	14	"	Causale
"	234	"	34	"	Çocotoraa
"	244	"	22, 25, 27	"	Moçambique
"	248	"	18	"	Gonçalo
"	260	"	23	"	Cunha
"	290	"	14	"	mercê
"	294	"	24	"	caudeis
"	295	"	4	"	mór
"	316	"	13	"	gorgilim
"	318	"	7	"	bainheiro

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